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CHINESE CULTURE

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Confucianism vs. Communism

By Chang Chi-yun (张其物)

FOREWORD

The Joint Communique issued by the Chinese and American Governments on October 23, 1958, said: "The United States recognizes that the Republic of China is the authentic spokesman for Free China and of the hopes and aspirations entertained by the great mass of the Chinese people." If any evidence were needed to substantiate this statement, it is furnished by two striking events: the choice of freedom by the 14,000 odd Chinese prisoners of war who preferred to come to Taiwan instead of being sent back to Communist enslavement during the Korean War in January 1953, and the heroic resistance to Communist aggression put up by soldiers hailing from Taiwan Province who fought shoulder to shoulder with their comrades-at-arms hailing from the mainland during the recent Communist artillery bombardment of Kinmen (\$) 1 and other offshore islands in the Taiwan Straits. Both facts combine to show unmistakably that the Taiwan of today is the center of gravity for all Chinese on the Chinese mainland, in Taiwan itself, and abroad, and that it accurately reflects the national spirit of the Chinese people as a whole. This beautiful island is the only spot on which hundreds of millions of our compatriots now living in a veritable hell on the Chinese mainland pin their hopes for ultimate delivery.

As President Chiang Kai-shek has put it, "In our great task of opposing Communism and resisting Russian aggression, spiritual and moral forces are of far more importance than material forces." In a recent speech Madame Chiang declared that the importance of Free China to the free world is at least equal to that of West Germany to the free world. She also added that if it were not for the existence of Free China, the people on the Chinese mainland would lose all hope of regaining their freedom. The contribution Free China has made to the free world lies in the fact that she has dashed to pieces all Communist plans for world conquest.

By inheriting the best traditions of Chinese culture and assimilating Western ideas, Dr. Sun Yat-sen worked out an independent political theory of his own, the San Min Chu I ($\geq R, \pm R$) or Three Principles of the People (nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood), launched and led the National Revolution, and founded the first republic in Asia. The San Min Chu I embodies the fundamental spirit of the Chinese nation and the ideal of national reconstruction. Such a spiritual force comes from within, and not from without. According to Dr. Sun, the teachings of Confucius are the main source of Chinese political philosophy. Based on the teachings of Confucius, it is the aim of the San Min Chu I to work for the spiritual regeneration of the Chinese nation. As we know only too well, ideas lie at the core of all culture and the history of ideas forms the central theme of cultural history. The teachings of Confucius are not only the mainspring of Chinese culture, but also the broad basis on which Oriental culture rests. They are still the perennial source from which the Chinese people draw their inspiration for the gigantic task of resisting Communist aggression and building up a new China in the future.

The San Min Chu I was first formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen towards the end of the nineteenth century and antedated the Soviet Revolution by at least twenty years. Taking a firm stand against Marxism, Dr. Sun once said, "Communism can never be applicable to China. Communist institutions and the Soviet type of organization can have no raison d'être in this country." Said President Chiang Kai-shek in his Double Tenth message for 1952: "The first requisite for our national recovery is to clarify our thoughts. In order to clarify our thoughts we must first of all know who is our friend and who our foe and make a clear distinction between the two. We must convince ourselves that there are no Communist ideas lurking behind the San Min Chu I." In his "Basic Principles Underlying Our Anti-Communist and Anti-Aggression Struggle" (反共抗俄基本論), President Chiang has emphatically declared: "What we rely upon now cannot be sheer armed force, but is our national sense of righteousness and our revolutionary principles."

The Chinese Communists are unchinese. The Chinese Communist Party is a Communist Party par excellence, but under the control of Soviet Russia. Do the Chinese Communists have any fatherland? If they have, it can be no other than Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia's policy of world conquest is much more menacing than any expansionist policies of Czarist Russia. That policy is a combination of Czarist despotism plus modern weapons and techniques plus Communist sophistry. Being the greatest of all evils in history, it is a challenge to the democracies and world peace. Alas! that China should have the misfortune to fall victim to Russian aggression and that the Chinese people should come face to face with such an unprecedented disaster. What Soviet Russia wants is not only to gobble up Chinese territory, but also to destroy the entire

Chinese nation and culture. Her intrigues are so plain and evident that anyone who has eyes can see them for what they are. That Soviet Imperialism is the common enemy of mankind is now a universally recognized fact. We know only too well that the task of recovering the Chinese mainland and rebuilding the nation is one that we have to shoulder.

The anti-Communist struggle in which Free China is engaged is essentially an ideological struggle, a struggle of ideas. The anti-Communist uprisings that break out here and there on the Chinese mainland are a measure of the sentiments of the Chinese people. By contrast, our compatriots shut behind the Iron Curtain would welcome the San Min Chu I as the way to national salvation and reconstruction. That is why we are firmly convinced that aggression will eventually fail, that Chinese traitors will go down to perdition, and that despotism cannot flourish. That is why we firmly believe in our ultimate victory in the present anti-Communist and anti-aggression struggle.

I propose in this essay to discuss the spiritual basis of China's resistance to Communism under several headings as follows:

I. THE NATIONAL VIRTUES (民族德性)

(1) Jen (4=)

If one were asked to name one word which could best summarize all the virtues of the Chinese people, that word would without doubt be jen, under which can be subsumed the four cardinal virtues of propriety, righteousness, integrity, and a sense of shame as well as the other familiar virtues of loyalty, filial piety, love, faithfulness, justice, and peace. Jen is, indeed, the unifying principle which underlies all other virtues and occupies the highest position among them all.

Jen is the original nature of man. Confucius explained it as meaning love of one's fellow beings. Jen is the principle by which mankind can be propagated from generation to generation. Like seeds, jen is full of latent life. That is why we Chinese call the seeds or kernels of fruits jen. This deep-seated and pure-hearted sympathy which exists between one individual and another is omnipresent in human society. It is a thing which no one can do without for even a single moment. It is only through jen, or love, that we can maintain our mental and spiritual health. It is only jen that keeps us from falling into the slough of despondency.

When G. Maring, a representative of the Third International, went to

Kweilin (桂林), the capital of Kwangsi Province, to see Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1921, the latter pointed it out to him that there is a world of difference between the San Min Chu I and Communism. While the San Min Chu I is based on love, Communism is based on hate. Love is inherent in human nature, but hate is inherent in animal nature. The two are incompatible with each other like fire and water. If one were to return hatred with hatred, the hatred would be doubly intensified. But if one repays hatred with love, all hatred would instantaneously disappear. The real significance of human culture lies in the dissolution of hatred by means of love and the transformation of animal nature into human nature.

The teachings of Confucius regard the universal application of jen in human affairs as the highest educational and political ideal. Consequently, unlike materialistic ideas without any trace of human sympathy, Chinese philosophy is permeated with the human touch and is infused with a spirit of positive optimism. Communism typifies the mechanical nature of inanimate matter, the cruelty of animal nature, and the abject subjection of slavery. To the Communist, there is only hatred and fear. He has no love or sympathy for his fellow creatures. The most deadly sin of Communism is its utter disregard for jen or love, which is in reality the raison d'etre of human beings and of the world as a whole. But it is a waste of time to talk of such high things with the Communists who spurn all logic and reason.

Confucius was the first to teach us that education should have nothing to do with social distinctions. This at once breaks down all barriers with regard to social position, geography, and class and racial differences as far as the chance to receive an education is concerned. From this is derived the spirit of "Under heaven all are brethren," as taught by a later philosopher. From this is also derived the Chinese people's readiness to regard one and all as being on an equal footing, irrespective of their political, economic, or social position. Consequently, China is able to become a nation in which all citizens are genuinely free and equal. We may even say that in this is to be found the reason why Dr. Sun would have us substitute mutual aid for competition and struggle.

The essence of the Confucian theory of jen consists in giving full play to human nature, raising the human personality, championing human rights, and developing human powers. Expressed in modern terms, it may be properly called humanism. As to the class struggle advocated by the Communists, its purpose is to split one individual from another, to set them fighting, struggling, and liquidating each other. Such a sad state of affairs is aptly described by two Chinese popular phrases, ma mu pu jen (numb and unfeeling) and tsan

ku pu jen (cruel and unfeeling). The Communists may be rightly said to be humans in appearance but animals at heart, for their human nature has been turned into animal nature. President Chiang Kai-shek has warned us of the grave consequences of permitting Communism to take root in China, when he said at Lushan (AL), Kiangsi Province, way back in 1933: "The Reds are China's mortal enemies. If we do not get rid of them as soon as possible, we are likely to become a nation of beasts. If that happens, China will disappear from the surface of the earth not only as an independent country but also as a racial entity." But we are firmly convinced that as long as there is human life, the Communists can never succeed in uprooting human nature. The series of anti-Communist uprisings that have taken place in Europe and Asia in countries behind the Iron Curtain since 1956 are indisputable evidence that human nature will ultimately triumph over animal nature.

Jen is the principle by which a man's life is regulated. Understood in this sense, it indicates a man's personality. On the other hand, jen is also the principle by which a nation stands or falls. Understood in that sense, it means the personality, so to speak, of a nation. There are innumerable heroes and righteous men and women in Chinese history whose personality has manifested itself, in an exemplary fashion, in standing up against foreign invaders and domestic despots. These men and women show the greatest jen when, in the face of foreign invasions, they are ready to sacrifice their own lives, irrespective of success or failure, in order to preserve their country's integrity and independence. As Confucius has said, "To exert oneself to the utmost for a worthy cause comes nearest to being jen" (力行近今年). The ideal Confucian practical man is one who is willing to make the supreme sacrifice for his country and is able to bring order out of chaos.

(2) Yi (義)

As jen is brotherly love or love for mankind, yi is respect for individual personality. The classic definition of yi is "appropriateness" or "suitableness." That which is suitable or appropriate is said to conform to yi. Viewed in this light, yi means that every person is able to have his due and live reasonably well. How should love or jen be practised? And how should it fit itself to the time and circumstances? This evidently involves some choice of emphasis and of priorities. When you fit your choice to the right time, place, and person, you are said to be practising yi. The ultimate aim of both jen and yi is to have every person find his level and lead a useful life.

In the Confucian scheme of values, jen stands supreme and overshadows all other lesser values. But Mencius differs from Confucius by speaking of

jen and yi in the same breath. What Mencius was driving at was to enunciate a true theory of equality in place of the then prevailing false theory of equality. The Taoists and Moists were then insisting on erasing all differences between individuals and placing them on a footing of absolute equality. It was under such circumstances that Mencius came forth to announce his newer theory that "It is in the very nature of things to be unequal one with another (物之不濟,物之情也)". As one man's endowments are naturally different from those of another, to make them equal by artificial means would not bring about real equality. To have real equality, we must take into consideration individual rights and duties so that justice and fair play will prevail. Every individual has his own rights and duties, which are complementary to each other. We must give each person his due and let him develop his personality to the maximum. Only in this way can we have the sort of society that we wish to have.

As Communism negates and destroys human nature, there can be no individual personality, justice, or fair play under any Communist regime. Without jen, there would naturally be without yi also. The fact that the Chinese Communists decided, beginning in April, 1958, to introduce the so-called people's commune (人民公社) on the Chinese mainland is clear evidence that they have come to the end of their wits. What they want to do is to erase all individual differences and create an apparent semblance of equality, which is no equality at all. The Communist system of people's communes is in reality a nation-wide system of concentration camps. The Chinese Reds wish to wipe away the original social structure and family organization and to put every person in a commune, which he may not leave with impunity. In this way, every commune becomes a concentration camp. Under such a system of collective slavery, there can be no individuality, nor human personality. What a time and what a world the Chinese people on the Chinese mainland are living in! But we know for sure that any despotism which is built upon the negation of human values contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. As the old Chinese saying goes, "The more injustices are perpetrated, the more quickly their perpetrator will go down to perdition (多行不義必自整)." This historical law can never be evaded.

(3) Li (禮)

What our ancestors in ancient China called *li* included a great many things. Expressed in modern terms, it includes traditions, institutions, written laws, customs, and conventions. *Li* was the basic idea underlying Chinese culture, and expressed itself as political, economic, social, and legal institutions in the larger sphere of the life of the nation and as norms of behavior in indivi-

dual conduct. All the ceremonials and patterns of life which are embodied in traditional forms are known under the generic name of *li*. In a word, what we call rule by *li* is merely another name for institutionalization in modern parlance.

As Philosopher Wang Fu-chih (王夫之) of the early Ching Dynasty has defined it, "Li is the standard by which all conduct is measured. Either to overstep it or to fall short of it is not li (禮者過不及之準也)." To have freedom one must subject oneself to restraints. In order to achieve the objective of mutual aid and cooperation in society, the individual must be willing to curtail part of his freedom. This is the only way to be free. Liberty and responsibility are two different phases of the same thing. Only when one holds oneself strictly responsible can one be genuinely free. Only when one is free can one be said to be responsible. When liberty and responsibility go together, we have what may be called "responsible liberty," which is the essence of rule by li.

Says Philosopher Hsun Tse ($\mathring{\mathfrak{h}}$ \mathcal{F}), "Li is the greater part of law ($\mathring{\mathfrak{a}}$ $\mathring{\mathfrak{A}}$ $\mathring{\mathfrak{A}}$ $\overset{*}{\underset{*}{\underset{*}{\underset{*}{\underset{*}{\underset{*}}{\underset{*}}}}}{\underset{*}{\underset{*}}}}$ Hence, rule by li may also be said to be rule by law. As the Book of Li ($\mathring{\mathfrak{a}}$ $\overset{*}{\underset{*}{\underset{*}}}$) has put it, "Li forbids trespasses before they are committed; law punishes criminal acts after they are committed." As a matter of fact, however, though li and law are different things and have different connotations, it is really not necessary to draw a line between them by means of the time element. Rule by Li includes rule by law, but rule by law cannot take the place of rule by li. Herein lies the difference between the Confucian and Legalist Schools of thought.

Liberty and equality are inseparable. Neither is complete without the other. Real liberty and real equality are called li and gi by the Confucianists, whose object is to protect human rights and foster human personality. This is one of the main currents of Chinese culture and conforms perfectly with the trend of contemporary thought in the world of today. As to Communism, it is no more than old-fashioned polity through violence. It is more cruel and ruthless than the worst periods of Czarist rule in Russia or despotic monarchy in China. In neither Russia nor China has there ever been any period during which so few individuals have exercised such absolute control over the political and economic life of the nation. Since human nature has been completely wiped out under the Chinese Communist regime, there can be no liberty or equality to speak of. A pall of desolation and darkness has now fallen over the erstwhile beautiful and cultured Cathay.

(4) Hsin (信)

There is this interesting dialogue between Confucius and one of his disci-

ples, Tzu Kung (子前), in the Confucian Analects, which illustrates how much importance the great sage attaches to hsin, which means either confidence or faith.

"Tzu Kung asked Confucius about the most important matters in public administration.

"Confucius replied, 'If you have enough food and enough military force, the people will have full confidence in you.'

"'If you have to do without one of the three, what would you let go first of all?'

"'I would first do without military force,' replied Confucius.

"'If you have to do without either of the other two, what would you let go, then?'

"In that case, I would go without food. It is an inexorable law of nature that everyone has to die with or without food, but no people can continue to exist without confidence in their government"."

From this passage it is perfectly clear that Confucius puts confidence in the government far above food and military might.

Human society is able to grow and prosper chiefly because its members speak and act consistently. This leads to mutual confidence and shared beliefs. Confidence in each other is one of the indispensable factors of human culture. Confucius has a rare insight into the complexities of human life, and his theories are representative of the Chinese character. Anyone who takes an honest view of human life cannot fail to be impressed by the essential soundness of the teachings of Confucius.

The most conspicuous feature of Communism is its total lack of confidence among those who profess it. Being used to confounding and deceit, the Communists have confronted mankind with an unprecedented disaster. Anyone with conscience must have some sense of justice and keep faith with his fellow men. But the Communists behave in exactly the opposite way. They mix up right and wrong and have no sense of values. They will not hesitate to resort to any and every means for the attainment of their objectives. What they call "peace" is anything but peace. When they approach you with a pat on the back, beware of treachery. Their type of "democracy" is only another name for enslavement. What they hold to be indisputable truth one day may be condemned by them as utterly wicked another day. They are the greatest jugglers of words the world has ever seen. In a word, Communism is the biggest

lie in all human history. Rarely, if ever, have so many people been fooled and deceived by so few for so long. In spite of all this, however, let us have faith that good will ultimately triumph over evil and light over darkness, and that the peoples of the world, including the Russians, can never be forever deceived.

(5) Cheng (誠)

Cheng means truthfulness, honesty, moral integrity, or being true to oneself.

- Says the Book of Chung Yung (中原): "Cheng is the law of nature; to achieve cheng is the law of man." According to President Chiang Kai-shek, this passage means that "The laws of nature are self-consistent and unchangeable," and that "If man wishes to follow the laws of nature, all he has to do is to regulate his own conduct."

The same paragraph of the Book of Chung Yung goes on to say: "He who learns to be his true self is one who finds out what is good and holds fast to it." President Chiang comments on this sentence in this way: "Here is the path for us to follow if we wish to accomplish anything worthwhile and achieve our ideal. To find out what is good and hold fast to it means that we are free to choose from among many possible alternatives the best and the most reasonable elements and hold them forth as the criteria for all our subsequent conduct in spite of any difficulties that we may encounter." In a nutshell, if we are inspired by cheng and know how to find out what is good and hold fast to it, we shall never contradict ourselves, shall always love our friends with all our heart, and shall persevere to the end in all tasks we undertake.

Cheng is the most potent ideological weapon that we have in our struggle with the Communists. When we are inspired by cheng, we shall not contradict ourselves. When we do not contradict ourselves, we shall then be able to meet our enemy with all his contradictions. The fallacy of Communism lies in its negation of ideological non-contradiction. That is why Communism is so full of contradictions both in theory and in practice. For instance, the Communists say on the one hand that ideas cannot determine existence, but they also insist on the other hand that ideas do affect existence in one way or another. On the one hand, they assert that ideas are the products of environment and that history is determined by changes in economic conditions; on the other hand, they lay great emphasis on the force of ideas and say that without revolutionary ideas there can not be any revolutionary action. Superficially, they are materialists; but deep down in their hearts they are really idealists. This is

only one example of the many contradictions in which the Communists are involved in all their theory and practice.

It would be useless to argue with those who take contradictions as the staple of their lives. For argumentation is based on the premise that all the things we say either for or against any given proposition should be self-consistent. If they are contradictory, what is the use of arguing at all? Viewed in this light, everything that the Communists say does not call for any refutation on our part, because it contradicts other things which the same Communists say either on the same or other occasions. Whenever you argue with them, they would claim that their statement is to be understood in the dialectical sense, so that in the end you get nowhere. Though the old-fashioned materialists may be open to criticism from many points of view, still they believe in the objectivity of truth and the universal application of the scientific method. But with the dialectical materialism of the Communists, all has become dialectical and contradictory. The Communists allege that everything in the world, including what we say, is involved in contradictions. Men like them can not be said to have any rational faculties at all. They are, indeed, devoid of all human nature.

The Russian Communists are fond of talking about dialectics, by means of which they try to achieve unity through contradiction. As a matter of fact, however, contradictions can never be resolved and unity can never be attained. Their failure to resolve contradictions and attain unity is the tragic fate of both Russian Imperialism and Communism as a whole. Chinese political philosophy, on the other hand, is plain and straightforward. Being based on jen, yi, li, and hsin, it is infused throughout with the spirit of cheng which is the negation of contradiction. When one is inspired by cheng, one will aim at the highest good and will never hesitate in the choice between good and evil. This, in brief, is what Confucianism stands for. According to the Chinese traditional philosophy, the universe is a harmonious whole, each part of which complements every other part. Dr. Sun Yat-sen fell heir to this splendid and rich philosophical tradition and originated the San Min Chu I, which contains in itself the best elements of both East and West and is one of the most advanced, most healthy, and most complete systems of thought the world has ever seen.

(6) Chung Shu (忠恕)

Tseng Tzu (曾子), one of Confucius' disciples, said, "The way of the Master consists simply in chung and shu."

The original meaning of *chung* signifies being loyal to the people. The Hsia Dynasty (夏代) founded by Emperor Yu (大為), the man who brought the ancient floods under control, was said by Chinese historians to be characterized by its devotion to the principle of *chung*, or loyalty. To have brought the floods under control was, of course, a signal service to the people. It can, therefore, be properly said that Emperor Yu was loyal to the Chinese people.

Said Mencius, "The people are the most precious; next come the national altars; the Prince is the least important of all." For over two thousand years, the Confucian theory has always insisted on the duty of the sovereign to be loyal to the people. All the historic political institutions which have been generally praised will be found, upon careful inquiry, to be based on the fundamental idea of protecting the rights of the people. Confucius was one of the staunchest defenders of popular rights. Thanks to him, China has been able to cost away the shackles of feudal institutions long before the European peoples did.

Tzu Kung asked Confucius about the meaning of shu. The Master replied, "Do not do unto others what you would not have others do unto you" (己所不欲,勿施於人). Shu means nothing more nor less than this: If you wish to live, you must let live. If you wish to make good, you must let others have a chance to make good. Whatever you do not_wish others to do unto you, you must not do unto them.

In his *Philosophy of Loyalty*, Josiah Royce, the American philosopher, speaks of "loyalty to loyalty" as the highest standard of loyalty. If we are loyal to our own nation and country, we should also sympathize with others who are loyal to their own nations and countries. In other words, we have the duty to be loyal to other people's loyalty. Viewed in this sense, what Royce calls being loyal to loyalty is practically the same as the Confucian concept of shu. Chung and shu spoken in the same breath form the characteristic features of Chinese culture. When Tzu Kung declared that "Within the four seas all are brothers (四海之内,肾足养也)", he was thinking of the principle of shu.

When the principles of *chung* and *shu* are put into practice, there would not be any more aggression and there would be everlasting peace in the world. But the Communists have no *chung* (loyalty) for themselves, nor *shu* (reciprocity or sympathy) for others. They resort to enslavement within and aggression without. That is why they are the common enemy of mankind. If, however, we follow the ideals of Chinese culture, nation and nation will be able to live peaceably with each other. They will uphold international justice and preserve

world peace. When that day comes, it means the final realization of the principles of chung and shu.

(7) Chung Yung (中康)

Chung Yung is the moral ideal of Confucius. It is the crystallization of the Chinese people's wisdom. The best exposition of the doctrine of the golden mean, which is what chung yung means, is to be found in the Book of Chung Yung. The essence of that doctrine is best described by the Confucian dictum, "To do anything in excess is as bad as to leave it only half done (過稿不及)". The greatness of the civilization of Greece, where Western philosophy originated, lies in its ability to synthesize reason and feeling and strike a balance between the two. For without feeling life would be colorless; but with too much feeling there would be attendant dangers. How to regulate our emotions and make them run in proper channels was, as I see it, the central problem of Greek civilization. The Greek answer to this problem is practically the same as the Confucian doctrine of the mean.

The Book of Chung Yung says, "While seeking to understand the highest things, the moral man yet lives a life regulated by the doctrine of the golden mean" (極高明而道中庸). Elsewhere in the same book, Confucius is quoted as exclaiming, "To be able to live a life that is regulated by the doctrine of the golden mean is the highest human attainment, indeed!" (中庸其至矣乎。) The golden mean is different from the mean or the mediocre. Neither is it the attitude of the snob or of the goody-goody. Understood in its right sense, a life regulated by the doctrine of the golden mean is one which ever strives to better itself. Anyone who leads such a life will always endeavor to make himself worthier and more useful every day. As Confucius has said, "Since I cannot find people who follow the golden mean to commend, I have to be contented with those who are brilliant and ambitious, or those whose conduct is guided by definite principles. Those who are brilliant and ambitious are generally aggressive and are likely to overreach themselves. Those whose conduct is guided by definite principles will not do anything against their conscience." From this passage it is clear that anyone who follows the golden mean will refuse to do certain things, as a matter of principle, and that it is only such people who can be expected to achieve great accomplishments. The doctrine of the golden mean may appear to be quite easy for us to follow, but is really difficult to carry out in practice.

China is known in Chinese as Chung Kuo (Middle Kingdom), which means that it is a country which does not go to extremes but always takes a middle course. The middle course is, indeed, the path that has been pursued by us

throughout our history. As Chu Hsi (朱子), an eminent philosopher of the Sung Dynasty, has explained, "A person who follows the doctrine of the golden mean is one who takes the middle course in all his conduct which is, therefore, the most appropriate and conforms to reason. Everything which such a person does is inevitably for the good of his country and of the world as a whole."

The doctrine of the golden mean, as applied to politics, calls for, in modern parlance, a balanced development of individual liberty and national interests and the adoption of a middle course between national sovereignty and international cooperation. While duly recognizing the importance of the State, the doctrine of the golden mean does not ignore the individual. While paying due attention to the realities of life, it does not cast ideals to the winds.

The Book of Chung Yung says, "The moral man marches with the times (shih) and takes the middle course (chung)" (君子馬時中). Mencius described Confucius as a "sage who adapts himself to the changing times" (全之時者). To say that the moral man takes the middle course is already clear enough, but to add that he also marches with the times makes the idea still clearer. When you say that a person takes the middle course and marches with the times, you mean that he is able to keep up with the ever changing circumstances, to aim at perfection itself, and to exert himself to the utmost of his ability and means for the good of his country and people.

Truth should be total, all-embracing, and indivisible. The doctrine of the golden mean does not countenance any action which is one-sided, comes into conflict with other persons, or goes to extremes. In formulating his San Min Chu I, Dr. Sun Yat-sen took his stand on fair and just principles with the object of fostering our national virtues and developing our national culture. The San Min Chu I is, therefore, diametrically opposed to the one-sided and extreme ideas entertained by the Communists. The two great republics on both sides of the Pacific, China and the United States, have happily similar outlooks in so far as national psychology and spirit are concerned. President Dwight D. Eisenhower once pointed out that harmony, balance, and progress are the three essential characteristics of "Modern Republicanism." Only harmony can produce balance, and only balance can lead to progress. Such a conception may be taken as another interpretation of the doctrine of the golden mean.

(8) Keh Ming (革命)

The term keh ming comes from the Book of Change (身經). It means

the replacement of the old regime with a new one, the transformation or renovation of one's pattern of life. Said Confucius, "It is the man that makes truth great, and not truth that makes man great" (人能共道、非道弘人。). Mencius held that man holds his own destiny in his own hands. Similarly, Hsun Tzu maintained that human power can conquer nature. The value of man's life lies in his ability to control his environment and remold outside circumstances according to his will. Anyone with a keh ming, or revolutionary, outlook on life will never despair whatever the circumstances may be. He will, on the contrary, always be high-spirited, vigorous, and energetic and will be self-contented wherever he goes.

The term keh ming has been an indigenous phrase in China for thousands of years, and has had an intensely political connotation from the very beginning. Though ancient Chinese political philosophers did not question the validity of the monarchical form of government, basic democratic ideas have long been dominant in the Chinese people's thinking. The ancient type of political revolution which the Chinese people thought of as "conforming to the will of both heaven and man" and our modern National Revolution which has been successively led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and President Chiang Kai-shek-these two types of revolution really form one continuous effort on the part of the Chinese people to better their own lot. In discussing the difference between evolution and revolution, Dr. Sun has pointed out that while the one is dominated by the law of natural selection and is therefore passive and aimless, the other calls for planned efforts with a definite objective in mind. As President Chiang sees it, the object of revolution is political, economic, and social reconstruction which can be successfully carried out only through "strenuous exertions" (li shing). That is why he calls his own philosophy of revolution the "li shing philosophy (力行哲學)," or the "philosophy of strenuous exertions."

The greatest mistake of the Communists lies in their indulgence in fantastic schemes of social betterment and their belief in fatalism. It is true that the Communists also profess to be revolutionaries, but their conception of revolution is the exact opposite of the original Chinese idea and is in reality counter-revolutionary in spirit. The mechanistic materialism of the nineteenth century has already been proved to be untenable. The new philosophy of the atomic age, which thinks of man as the conqueror of nature and as the master of his own fate, will give dialectical materialism its well-deserved coup de grace.

(9) Ta Tung (大同)

The Chinese national anthem, which was written by Dr. Sun Yat-sen,

speaks of "building up the republic and ushering in the era of the Great Commonwealth" (以建民國,以進大同。). Elsewhere, Dr. Sun has said that "The Min Sen Chu I (民生主義 the Principle of People's Welfare) is nothing but the principle of the Great Commonwealth." The term ta tung, which means the Great Commonwealth or Great Unity, comes from the Book of Li. To quote:

"When the Great Tao (大計 or great principle) prevails, the world becomes a common state, rulers are elected according to their wisdom and ability and mutual confidence and peace prevail. Therefore people not only regard their own parents as parents and their own children as children. The old people are able to enjoy their old age, the young men are able to employ their talent, the juniors have the elders to look up to, and the helpless widows, orphans and cripples and deformed are well taken care of. The men have their respective occupations and the women have their homes. If the people do not want to see goods lying about on the ground, they do not have to keep them for themselves, and if people have too much energy for work, they do not have to labor for their own profit. Therefore there is no cunning or intrigue and there are no bandits or burglars, and as a result, there is no need to shut one's outer gate at night. This is the period of ta tung, or the Great Commonwealth."

It is traditionally said that this passage was recorded by Tzu Yu (子游), one of Confucius' disciples, who, in a little over one hundred words, gave expression to the greatest ideal of human aspirations. What the Confucian scholars call "the cultivation of virtues, the utilization of natural resources, and the improvement of people's livelihood" (玉德·利用·厚生) obviously lays equal emphasis on both the material and spiritual sides of our life and is an attempt to reconcile the conflicting claims of morality and economics, with the object of making the best use of everybody's talents and making him happy and contented. The passage from the Book of Li which we have just quoted in full is the crystallization of this basic idea.

In November, 1952, President Chiang Kai-shek wrote and published his "Chapters on National Fecundity, Social Welfare, Education, and Health and Happiness" (民生主義有樂再為補述). In that booklet he tries to demonstrate how through modern scientific methods there can be built up a free and secure society in which all aspects of the people's life other than food and shelter such as nutrition, health, education, recreation, and social welfare shall be adequately provided for and the problems of old age, sickness, lack of educational opportunities, and unemployment shall be reasonably solved. In a certain sense, it may well be said that this is similar to the social security schemes of the West. Human culture is valuable precisely because it promotes social progress and human

welfare through mutual cooperation. President Chiang's work is an amplification of the Min Sen Chu I ideal of "sharing the enjoyment of wealth and happiness with one's fellow beings" (富則同當,樂則同樂). It is a strong spiritual weapon in our present struggle against Soviet Imperialism and Communist aggression. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Yu Yu-jen (千五任), another veteran Kuomintang leader, who has justly said that this work by President Chiang is the best gift which we can present to our 400 million compatriots on the Chinese mainland when we and they eventually meet again.

II. CENTRAL IDEAS

(1) Unity of Mind and Matter (心物合一)

Unity of mind and matter, unity of knowledge and conduct, and unity of Heaven and man are the three pillars of Chinese traditional philosophy and culture. These not only form the central theme of the Chinese people's spiritual life, but also conform to the general trend of modern thought. In commenting on the Book of Change, Confucius said that chien yuan (乾元 heavenly nucleus) should be regarded as the beginning of all things. Chien yuan is nothing but another term for jen (仁). Its distinguishing characteristics are everlasting life and strenuous exertions. That is why we say that "Everlasting life is the essence of change" (生生之前分), and that "To exert oneself to the utmost for a worthy cause comes nearest to being jen."

Being heir to the traditional Chinese thought, Dr. Sun Yat-sen coined a new term, sheng yuan ($\pm \tilde{\kappa}$) or "life nucleus," from which, he said, all things are derived. According to him, sheng yuan or "life nucleus" is the substance of the universe which transcends both mind and matter. He has pointed out that "As ming sheng (people's livelihood) is the central theme of social progress and as social progress is the central theme of human history, the central theme of human history is ming sheng and not matter." Elsewhere he also said, "Karl Marx was wrong in regarding matter as the central theme of human history. The real central theme of human history is the social problem, at the core of which lies the problem of the preservation of life. The problem of people's livelihood is merely the problem of the preservation of life." These ideas, if accepted, will serve to undermine the theoretical basis of Communism. Though there are such different names as jen, chien yuan, and sheng yuan, they all mean the same thing and denote the same fundamental idea of the unity of mind and matter.

The development of atomic physics in recent decades has caused the decline of materialism. The ushering in of the atomic age not only ended the Second World War, but also helped to clarify the age-long dispute between the idealists and the materialists. The new philosophy known as "neutral monism" holds that substance transcends mind and matter. Reconciling spirit and matter, it succeeds in achieving an organic unity of the two. This unifying substance is called "event" by modern philosophers. An event in this sense is anything that actually happens. It is the same as the Confucian term shing shih (行事), or "actual happenings" or "action."

Says President Chiang Kai-shek, "The theory of the unity of mind and matter does not mean that mind and matter are of equal importance. That theory holds that mind is of far more importance than matter." "It is not for us to continue the endless debate between idealism and materialism. The important thing for us to do is to replenish our spiritual power so that we can make use of all things in the world to solve the various practical problems and improve the livelihood of our country and people." These ideas are powerful weapons which the free world should use in its ideological struggle with the Communists in order to achieve final victory.

(2) Unity of Knowledge and Conduct (知行合一)

Chinese philosophers have always insisted on the necessity of linking knowledge with conduct. They list five steps in the process which leads from knowledge to conduct: (a) wide and extensive knowledge (據學); (b) critical inquiry (審問); (c) careful examination (读思); (d) sifting of evidence (明確); and (e) earnest conduct (f. f.). They have never thought of ideas as being formed in a vacuum. On the contrary, they regard them as the motive force behind all political and social progress. As Confucius expressed it, "Instead of putting down my views on paper which serves no useful purpose, I would rather prefer to translate them into action so that they may be more effectively felt and understood." Philosopher Wang Yang-ming (王陽明) of the Ming Dynasty was the first to expound the theory of the unity of knowledge and conduct. He maintained that knowledge is conduct, saying that "To know without being able to carry out what you know in actual conduct is tantamount to not knowing at all." Both Wang's theory of the unity of knowledge and conduct and Dr. Sun Yat-sen's theory that "to know is difficult but to do is easy" stress the equal importance of theory and practice. From this it is clear that the end result of all the evidence that we may be able to marshal in support of our argument leads to the conclusion that conduct or shing is the ultimate aim of all knowledge. As Dr. Sun has said, "We can succeed in all tasks, however difficult they may appear to be, if only we clearly understand the various factors involved, remain steadfast in our determination to succeed, and ceaselessly push forward towards the goal."

Inheriting the Chinese traditional spirit, President Chiang Kai-shek has formulated what he calls a "philosophy of action or strenuous exertions." While Confucius and Mencius held that jen is inherent in human nature, President Chiang maintains that "it is shing (action or strenuous exertions) which is inherent in human nature." By this he means to point out the more active side of human nature. Says he, "Shing is a law of nature and is inherent in man's nature from his birth." He thinks that "man is not born lazy and indolent" but that "he is born for labor and work." According to President Chiang, conduct includes knowledge. In other words, conduct is the result of knowledge, and not independent of it, nor blind. So we find him saying further, "All thinking and speech are simply steps in the process leading to conduct. They are integral parts of conduct." In enunciating his "philosophy of action," President Chiang was animated by a desire to see everybody exert his utmost and leave nothing undone to realize the best in himself. On this showing, we should not only write and speak to expound abstract theories, but also so conduct ourselves as to prove the validity and value of those theories.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen has pointed out that human civilization has progressed through three stages. In the first stage, which is that from savagery to civilization, people simply did certain things without knowing why they should be done. In the second stage, during which civilization gradually progressed, people first did certain things and then proceeded to find out the reasons why they should be done. In the last or third stage, which dates from the beginning of modern civilization, people know that certain things should be done and then proceed to do them. Being a gregarious animal, man in the third stage has a "sense of humanity" or "the consciousness of kind" and knows, therefore, how to avoid conflicts in society and to achieve progress through compromise and conciliation, thus step by step approaching nearer to the ideal of the Great Commonwealth.

The materialism of the Communists is really negative, passive, pessimistic, and timorous in character. It is a defeatist and backward idea. Now that science has made such tremendous progress and we are living in an age when we know that certain things should be done and then proceed to do them, "we have no hesitation in doing what is right," to use the words of Dr. Sun Yatsen, "and we are confident that we shall succeed in whatever we undertake to do." At such a time as this, the outmoded views of history as propounded by the Communists have no more raison d'etre.

(3) Unity of Heaven and Man (天人合一)

"The theory of the unity of Heaven and man as enunciated by our

philosophers," said President Chiang Kai-shek, "accounts for the high position which we occupy in the world culture of today."

The Confucian scholars think of man as part of the universe, and the universe as part of man's being. At any moment of our existence, our life and nature are inextricably intertwined and inseparable from each other. This idea is expressed by Philosopher Lu Hsiang-shan (法意山) of the Sung Dynasty when he declared, "My mind and the universe are one. All things in the universe concern me and it is my duty to be actively interested in them. Similarly, what interests me forms part of universal concern." Wang Yang-ming holds practically the same view as reflected in this statement, "The reason of things is to be found in my heart. To find the reason of things outside of my heart is a futile attempt."

A special feature of Chinese thought is its realization of the oneness of the universe and human life. Hence we speak of ourselves as being in communion with heaven and earth. Jen implies the idea of fellowship with our brethren and non-discrimination in our dealings with the outside world. This spirit is somewhat zkin to the idea in Western religion of the love of God and man. The essence of democracy consists in what the ancient Chinese philosophers have called "the universal love of all things under heaven and on earth." He who has that kind of love cannot fail to conform himself to the justice and righteousness which are inherent in nature and man, to love Heaven and humanity, and to attain to a state wherein "he receives the blessings of Heaven and the affection of his fellow beings," as the Chinese saying goes.

Though Confucius has never explicitly referred to the "heavenly way," the ideas of respecting and obeying the heavenly will are often found in his teachings. The quintessence of religion lies in obedience to the heavenly will, or to what St. Paul calls "the law written in their hearts." According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the heavenly will is expressed in "pursuing the good and avoiding the evil." It is clear, therefore, that the spirit of Western religion is not much different from the teachings of the Chinese sages. Confucius teaches us to do our human best in obedience to the will of Heaven in order to achieve unity between Heaven and man. The Western people come to understand human life through religion, but the Oriental people come to understand religion through human life. To peoples of both East and West, the call is ever to obey the heavenly will and to do good.

Says President Chiang Kai-shek, "Only God-fearing souls who believe in the unity of Heaven and man know how to enjoy the blessings of a happy life in obedience to the heavenly will. Knowing neither worry nor fear, such persons will live a contented life and will not change it for any other even on pain of death." Only by sacrificing oneself for the good of the country can one be said to have lived a meaningful life of jen and yi. The anti-Communist and anti-aggression struggle in which we are being engaged, if it is to succeed, must call for the further development of our traditional spirit of self-sacrifice for the national cause. The greatest crisis which faces the world today is caused by the spread of the virus of atheistic Communism. As a result, our brethren on the Chinese mainland are suffering from the cruellest form of despotism which is unprecedented in all history. Though oppressed and persecuted for many long years now, our brothers and sisters on the mainland are still uncowed and unbroken in spirit. They are able to do this, mainly because they are fired by an all-pervading love of God and man.

III. MENTAL DISCIPLINES

(1) Education

Education is the foundation of the nation. As we have said before, Confucius was the first to teach us that education should have nothing to do with social distinctions (有数無類). In other words, education makes no distinctions with respect to race or class. Everybody in China is the equal of everybody else irrespective of his birth place, family history, religion, or customs and habits. This is the basis of Chinese educational philosophy as well as the basic national spirit of China. From time immemorial, the Chinese people have never practised racial discrimination and have regarded all persons as standing on an equal footing. The idea of social classes as propagated by the Communists is unrealistic in so far as China is concerned. China is a classless society which has abolished hereditary privileges and wiped out class consciousness for more than two thousand years. The Chinese social structure is not divided into so many strata as it is done in other countries. Before the coming of the Chinese Communists, the Chinese people had been living a happy and harmonious life without experiencing any violent interruptions. They have been able to do so chiefly because Confucius, their greatest teacher, has inspired them with high and noble ideals by means of which they are taught to realize genuine liberty and equality.

(2) Ethics

The Chinese character jen is composed of two elements meaning "two persons." Its underlying idea is similar to that of the Latin word "socius." Every individual in China has always been regarded as a member of society. There is, therefore, no extreme individualism in this country. Though Con-

fucius laid special emphasis on personal cultivation, he did not think that any individual could live in isolation from his fellow beings. He took man as an ethical entity, and not as a recluse living in the clouds. The Master has said, "I cannot live among birds and animals. If I am not one of the people, what shall I be?" Human society is our proper sphere of activity. We must have intercourse with other persons in order that we may realize our best selves. Chinese philosophy is based on ethics which, in turn, is based on love.

President Chiang Kai-shek has said, "Now that our brethren on the mainland are waiting anxiously for us to come to their rescue, their human nature will reassert itself so much the more strongly in the form of love for their country. In the reign of terror in which they are living, they will feel so much the more intensely the loveliness of human nature, from which they look for help and liberation. Love can never be overshadowed by hate, and it is only love that can dissolve hate." At the same time, President Chiang also points out the methods by which we can save ourselves, saying, "We can best save ourselves by extending a loving hand towards our suffering compatriots on the mainland; by awakening, fortifying, and uniting them by means of love; by letting love have free play among them and us in order to unite them to us in an unbreakable bond; and by letting love break through the barriers erected by the Chinese Communists and wash away the poisonous atmosphere created by them. By doing these things, we shall be showing the strength of our national spirit and exemplifying the best of our national ethics and morality." To President Chiang, these are the methods by which we can best deal with the Chinese Communist problem and the problem of International Communism.

(3) Philosophy

To President Chiang it is the function of philosophy to "seek after truth and light up the path of virtue" (常理明德). He thinks that the central problem of philosophy is the study of man, which is twofold: First, what are the conditions that must be fulfilled before a man can be called man? Secondly, how should a man conduct himself in his daily life? The teachings of Confucius are noted for their humanistic character, which has given color and tone to the Chinese people's way of life for thousands of years. According to Professor John Dewey, philosophy should be humanized and the philosopher should always live in the world of men. That sums up in a nutshell the spirit of Chinese philosophy. President Chiang's dictum, "It is the object of the means of livelihood to promote the livelihood of all humanity; the meaning of life lies in promoting the continuity of life in the universe," gives us the essence of Chinese humanism.

The anti-Communist struggle in which China is being engaged at present is, at bottom, an ideological and philosophical struggle. Soviet Imperialism is derived from the "enslavement philosophy" of Communism. As a result of the Communist theories and practice of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers in the Soviet Union should have been the most fortunate people in that country. But facts are far otherwise. Instead of being masters, the Russian workers are nothing more than slaves and Soviet Russia is a country of slaves. The system of slave labor is the most important factor in the Soviet economy. If slave labor were once abolished in the Soviet Union, the Soviet economy would lose its main support. The Chinese Communists have been imitating the Soviet example on the Chinese mainland. What they are doing there cannot be properly called a dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead, they are creating a society of slaves, and the so-called "people's commune" is merely a nation-wide concentration camp. The system of slave labor is despotism par excellence. No wonder that the people's commune has aroused the righteous indignation of the whole free world. We are confident that the Communist Empire which has been built up by slave labor will eventually be overthrown also by slave labor.

(4) Science

In expounding his theory that to know is difficult but to act is easy, Dr. Sun Yat-sen had especially scientific knowledge in mind. President Chiang Kai-shek has also said that scientific research is the method by which we achieve economic reconstruction for the betterment of people's livelihood. This may be called the "scientific principle of people's livelihood." The aim of science is the attainment of truth. The scientist uses his reasoning faculties and emphasizes discussion and experiments. His attitude is the exact reverse of that of the Communist who is always dogmatic and refuses to listen to reason. Marx's so-called "scientific socialism" is, as a matter of fact, unscientific to the extreme. All the Marxian theories have been disproved by science and have become old-fashioned.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's dictum that "the San Min Chu I is social physiology and Communism is social pathology" hits the nail on its head, for, as he has pointed out, "Marx, in studying the social problem, has looked at only the attendant evils of social progress and ignored its underlying principles." Consequently, he thinks that Marxism is out of date and unscientific and that the Chinese social problem can never be solved by means of Marxian dialectics. In brief, Communism is against human nature. It is unscientific and reactionary. It is a fantastic theory which only madmen will believe.

The ancient Chinese scholar's method of approach to his studies can be adapted to the study of modern science. The Chinese people's cultural heritage may serve as a starting point for science education in contemporary China. We firmly believe that it is only on the basis of this cultural heritage that the development of science and technology in China can save mankind from disaster. Our task, as I see it, should be twofold: we should, on the one hand, devote ourselves wholeheartedly to the realization of a genuine Chinese renaissance and spiritual regeneration and, on the other hand, redouble our efforts for the study of modern science. This two-pronged approach must go forward simultaneously. Western science plus Chinese culture will produce what may be called "scientific humanism" (科学的人文主義). We are convinced that with the development of "scientific humanism" we shall be able to accomplish the great task of spiritual regeneration and to hasten the downfall of the Russian and Chinese Communist regimes.

(5) Military Science

Out of the numerous works on military science which have been handed down to us from ancient times in China, I should like to regard this statement as most succinct and noteworthy: "The art of war consists in the best utilization of human nature and material resources." If we understand human nature and know how to make the best use of the material resources at our disposal, we shall be able not only to build up a strong military force but also to achieve national reconstruction. There is really little difference between the art of war and the art of civil government. But military matters are even more complicated and involved and subject to unforeseen and unforeseeable changes, so that they call for a higher degree of spiritual cultivation on the part of the military man. A modern citizen should be equally skilful in civil and military affairs which include all aspects of a man's life. As President Chiang has said, "Military establishments require science and modernization." "Military discipline, on the one hand, and democracy and the rule of law, on the other, are complementary to each other and not contradictory." statements show that their author has studied history with a keen insight.

Though the Chinese Communists may succeed for a time, they are doomed to ultimate failure. Their failure is certain, because they do not know the art of war and, therefore, do not know how to make the best use of human nature and material resources. We know for sure that anyone who tramples down human dignity, ignores human nature, squanders material resources, and runs counter to the laws of nature can never hope to succeed in any undertaking. The Chinese Communists are using brute force to carry out their "people's commune" and make the whole nation an armed camp. But they

have given rise to widespread discontent. Once the armed peasants have a chance to show their real intentions, they will constitute a strong contingent for the anti-Communist and anti-aggression cause. The Chinese Communist regime is based on sheer armed might. All available evidence demonstrates that they are heading for destruction through internal uprisings.

(6) Art

China used to be known as a country where li (社) and yueh (集) flourished. Li and yueh are, indeed, fundamental ideas which underlie Chinese culture. The one, in its broadest sense, includes customs, conventions, and political institutions, while the other refers not only to music but also to all other forms of divertissement. The essential spirit of li is manifested in orderliness (序) and that of yueh in harmony (秒). Orderliness and harmony are complementary; either is impossible without the other. What our ancestors in ancient times were trying to do when they undertook to lay down new rules of conduct for various solemn occasions and write new music, as it was customary to do at the beginning of every new dynasty, was merely to achieve orderliness and harmony in social life.

Yueh, which expresses our sentiments and emotions, is a reflection of our inner life. Li, which consists in the observance of rules of conduct, is manifested in external behavior. Yueh teaches us to lead a harmonious life, and li teaches us to be respectful. Only when we have achieved harmony in our inner life do we show respect in our external behavior.

Yueh springs from inborn nature, and li from reason. Only when a thing conforms to human nature can it be said to be reasonable. The cultivation of both li and yueh is required for the development of a well-rounded personality, and is the prerequisite for an ideal society in which beauty and truth prevail.

In addition to the more material aspects of our daily life, Dr. Sun Yatsen's Principle of People's Livelihood also lays particular emphasis on social welfare, education, health, and happiness. In order to promote social welfare, education, health, and happiness, we must cultivate *li* and *yueh* on the one hand and encourage the study of modern science and technology on the other. It is only in this way that we can create new art forms and a new culture to meet the needs of the times and for the benefit of the people as a whole.

To President Chiang Kai-shek, only that which is true can be really beautiful. "Our ancient sages," says he, "were particularly concerned with the attainment of a proper equilibrium and harmony between one's feelings and reason." Without brotherly love among the people, there can be no art. In a Communist society of slaves, which is as good as a desolate desert, all feelings are suppressed and reason is distorted so that there can be neither harmony nor orderliness. People behind the Iron Curtain are always in danger of their lives. Separated from their wives and children and rendered homeless, they have no interest in life. According to the actual experience of anti-Communist ex-prisoners of war in Korea, whenever they saw the national flag of the Republic of China or heard the Chinese national anthem, they would think of their fatherland and tears would gush from their eyes. From this it is clear how the people would give vent to their feelings and how they are in need of the comfort that is to be derived from the appreciation of art.

(7) Religion

The theory of the unity of Heaven and man, which we have discussed above, shows that the Chinese philosophers recognized the existence of Heaven or God. Indeed, they explicitly say that Heaven is God (天日神), adding that "God is the fountainhead of the universe and the creator of all things" (神 者,天地之本,而為某物之始之。). According to President Chiang Kai-shek, "The fact that there is the conception of Heaven or God in Chinese culture is clear evidence that the Chinese people believe in the absolute existence of truth in the universe and in the existence of a Supreme Being." Such a belief is directly opposed to the materialism of the Communist atheists.

Some people may perhaps argue that the Confucian school, which represents the orthodox line of thinking in Chinese culture, recognizes only the existence of Heaven, but not that of God. This argument is entirely groundless. As the Confucian Analects says, "In offering sacrifices to God, you must so act as if God is actually present before you" (祭神女神主). This will be sufficient to prove that Chinese culture is not an atheistic culture. Numerous other references to God can also be found in Chinese classics and books of history. However, as President Chiang has pointed out, "In the traditional culture of China we find much philosophical theorizing on ethical relations, but the concept of God is nowhere explained in definite terms. This deficiency in Chinese culture can be made up by the teachings of Jesus Christ. Therefore, Christianity and Confucianism, which complement each other, may join forces to bring about a fuller life to man."

President Chiang maintains that "Irrespective of religious beliefs, all of us must acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being in the universe who resides in our hearts and for whom we do not have to search anywhere else." This is nothing but another way of explaining the theory of the unity of

Heaven and man, which gives us something to cling to in our life, imparts greater worth to the life of man and marks him out as being capable of leading a life of the spirit. Such a theory is particularly important and valuable at a moment when we are engaged in an all-out struggle with the Communist materialists.

IV. POLITICAL PROGRAM

(1) Setting One's Heart Right (正心)

The Great Learning (大学), the first of the Four Books, is at once a concise resume of the Confucian political philosophy and a program of practical politics. As Dr. Sun Yat-sen has pointed out, "The eight items as enumerated in The Great Learning, which lead from the cultivation of virtues and knowledge by the individual to the accomplishment of great feats for the welfare of humanity at large, represent a continuing process. Being an all-inclusive and self-consistent program, they tell us not only how to cultivate ourselves but also how to govern other men. Therein are to be found all-the fundamental principles of government."

The theory as to how to set one's heart right has been fully developed by the Sung philosophers. According to Cheng Ming-tao (我明道), the best method of personal cultivation is to be unselfish, for only unselfishness permits of the maximum development of human nature. On the other hand, his younger brother, Cheng Yi-chuan (我伊川), holds that to show deference is the best method to cultivate oneself, for if one shows deference in all matters in one's daily life, one will be fair and just to others and will not allow any evil ideas to grow in one's heart. Chu Hsi (朱子), another renowned philosopher of the Sung Dynasty, maintains that there resides in our hearts the laws and principles which govern all creation. Lu Hsiang-shan's (桂子) dictum, "My mind and the universe are one," has already been quoted in a previous connection. All four philosophers agree that only when one has perfect control over one's heart can one adapt oneself to the ever shifting changes of time and place.

All ancient Chinese thinkers regard spiritual regeneration as a prerequisite for political reconstruction and are confident that democracy is practicable in China. Though there may be ups and downs in the fortunes of all nations, including China, the political philosophers never fail to discern a bright future.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen used to tell his comrades and followers that to be a revolutionist one must first of all purify one's heart (革命必失革心). President

Chiang Kai-shek has also said: "Now that our country is in the midst of a life-and-death struggle, what we most urgently need are people with a high sense of justice and responsibility in order to create a new climate of public life and set an example for others to follow." We must convince ourselves that the present anti-Communist and anti-aggression struggle is a struggle for the independence and freedom of the Chinese nation. With such a conviction in our hearts, we shall remain steadfast and unshakable in our determination in spite of all difficulties and hardships.

We believe that the climate of public life depends to a large extent on people's hearts which, in their turn, depend on the readiness of a few upright individuals to champion the cause of righteousness and even to sacrifice their own lives, if necessary.

(2) Making One's Thoughts Sincere (诚意)

Only when we have a firmly held conviction can we have constancy of purpose and perseverance. As President Chiang has told us, if we really wish to do anything great and enduring, we must first of all have the spirit of perseverance which manifests itself in sincerity of thoughts. And he added: "Dr. Sun Yat-sen has said that to be a revolutionist one must first of all purify one's heart. Now I want to tell you that in order to purify our hearts we must be sincere and discard all falsehoods (存族去族). When we are truly sincere, we shall be skillful and discerning. As the ancient sayings go: 'Sincerity within will be reflected in external behavior.' 'There is nothing which the utmost sincerity cannot move.' If we are capable of all this, our revolution will be crowned with success."

Says Philosopher Cheng Yi-chuan: "All our activities can be reduced to two categories: action and reaction. If our action cannot move other people, it must be due to our lack of sincerity." The more sincere we are, the better we shall be able to move others. As the Chinese proverb goes, "Given the necessary sincerity, even the most hard-boiled opponent will yield to your persuasion." That which is inspired by the utmost sincerity cannot fail to be good. Anyone who approaches every problem in a spirit of sincerity will call forth an equal measure of sincerity from his colleagues, and such a man is bound to succeed in all things that he does.

Wen Tien-hsiang (文天祥) used to say that sincerity is the alpha and omega of wisdom. According to President Chiang, "All our virtues and practical work should be based on the spirit of humanity and proceed from a spirit of utmost sincerity, with which we prove our loyalty to the country and nation."

In the eyes of the Chinese leader, there are four evils which can be cured only by absolute sincerity. These are: a selfish heart (**A**), a prejudiced heart (**A**), a deceitful heart (***A**), and a suspicious heart (****). The art of government consists in opening your heart for the people to see, proclaiming justice as your gu'ding principle, know white from black, and distinguish between the loyal and disloyal. When you are able to do this, the people will rally around you with heightened morale, firm determination, and renewed strength. If everybody remains undaunted in spite of all hardships and dangers and devotes himself wholeheartedly to the struggle for the welfare of his country and people, we are assured of ultimate victory. That is why we say that sincerity is the beginning and end of all things and that nothing can be accomplished without it.

(3) Achieving True Knowledge (致知)

According to Chu Hsi, by the achievement of true knowledge is meant a condition in which one attains a perfect insight into the raison d'etre of all things in the universe. One cannot be said to have achieved true knowledge if one knows only one out of many aspects in which a thing may be viewed, or if one knows only the prominent features of a thing and not its more obscure features. Chu emphasizes that only when one knows a thing thoroughly and from inside out, as it were, can one be said to have achieved true knowledge of it. We must not allow anything to obscure our minds so that we may be able to perceive clearly all aspects of the truth and its practical application to the business of life. This method, which is advocated by Confucius, is the electic method at its best.

In the opinion of President Chiang Kai-shek, the theory of achieving true knowledge (投資金) as enunciated by Wang Yang-ming is the most important philosophical theory which it behooves us to grasp and put into practice if we wish to succeed in our revolution. To achieve true knowledge we must practise what we know. This is essentially Wang's theory of the unity of knowledge and conduct expressed in another form. Our ability to know is part of our natural endowments. We must give full expression to our nature as human beings. Given the necessary sincerity and intensity of effort, we shall be able to prevail over all obstacles. Viewed in this light, the achievement of true knowledge is a matter of the spirit. By true knowledge is meant not bits of information, but real insight into the nature of things.

(4) Investigating Things (格物)

In Chinese orthodox philosophy there is no trace of pure materialism

whatever. A passage of The Great Learning says: "When things are investigated, then true knowledge is achieved; when true knowledge is achieved, then the will becomes sincere; when the will is sincere, then the heart is set right (or then the mind sees right); when the heart is set right, then the personal life is cultivated; when the personal life is cultivated, then the family life is regulated; when the family life is regulated, then the national life is orderly; and when the national life is orderly, then there is peace in the whole world." This passage seems to imply that the investigation of things lies at the bottom of all our efforts. But in reading it we must carefully note that the emphasis is put on the investigative process and not on the things as such. Though the Chinese philosophers do not deny the existence of material things, what they are interested in is the principles underlying the material manifestations rather than the things themselves. In investigating things, our aim is to find out their real nature so that they may be harnessed for human purposes. It is obvious that we should never permit material things to exert a dominating influence over our lives.

According to Chu Hsi, to investigate a thing is to apprehend it. This implies that the investigator is able to penetrate the superficial appearance of the thing that is being investigated and to take a good look at its inner essence. This also implies an essential harmony between the investigator and the thing investigated. In making any investigation our objective is twofold: to obtain a clear comprehension of the thing investigated in all its aspects on the one hand and to make it clear in our own minds as to how the total body of knowledge we have thus obtained can be best utilized on the other. By the total body of knowledge is meant the totality of all the things that are apprehended through our rational faculties. By the best utilization of our knowledge is meant its practical application to our daily lives for the cultivation of our personal life, the regulation of our family life, the ordering of our national life, and the promotion of world peace. According to Wang Yangming, the investigation of things implies the translation of the knowledge so obtained into action. As he explains it, "If our intention is to love the people and show affection for all living beings, then the act of loving and showing our affection may be regarded as an object for investigation."

Such, then, is the Confucian conception of the investigation of things.

(5) Cultivating Personal Life (修身)

The Confucian school lays primary emphasis on the cultivation of personal life, for it is only when one's personal life is well cultivated that one is prepared to do anything for the welfare of one's fellow beings. One can be

called a gentleman only if one appreciates one's human worth, acts in accordance with the principles of justice and humanity, conforms to decorum, quietly carries on one's studies, and ceaselessly cultivates oneself. In the Confucian view, man is the center of the world. Everything depends upon him, and not he upon everything else. Such a conception of man has the effect of encouraging him to ever greater efforts to realize the best that is in him.

Some Greek philosophers regard man as the measure of all things, but this is by no means individualism as we understand the term today. In Plato's ideal republic, man is a constituent element of society. To Immanuel Kant, man is an end in himself and not an instrument to be used by others. This theory has given a great impetus to the doctrine of human rights. This line of thought in the West agrees remarkably well with the Confucian ideas in China. Needless to say that both trends are diametrically opposed to the materialistic ideas of Communism. That accounts for the unity of the free world in its struggle against International Communism.

(6) Regulating Family Life (書家)

Confucius holds that the most effective method for the cultivation of moral virtues is to teach people to be filial and show fraternal love between brothers. Therefore he says, "A gentleman steeps himself in fundamentals. Once you have got hold of the fundamentals, you will know the path of virtue. Aren't filial piety and brotherly love the fundamentals of human association?" (君子務本,本立而遺生。孝弟也者,其為仁之本數?) The Confucian school lays particular stress on filial piety and notes especially the influence of maternal love on the formation of the children's character. In the Confucian view, the home is the place where one's education begins and filial piety is the first of all moral virtues. Our moral ideas are fostered at home during the period of our childhood.

What is called filial piety and brotherly love in the family is known as chung shu (loyalty and reciprocity) in the wider sphere of social relations. Like filial piety and brotherly love, chung shu is simply the outer manifestation of the human heart.

Chung consists in doing one's best, and shu in considerateness for others. If we are filial towards our parents, we shall also be loyal to the nation. The spirit of loyalty and public service has been the main pillar which has sustained the Chinese nation for thousands of years.

According to the April 29, 1958 issue of Look magazine, "Last year,

police arrested 500,000 persons under 21. Yet virtually none of these delinquents was Chinese American." This unique phenomenon is to be explained by the fact that in Chinese families the children are taught to obey their elders and that the Chinese youths in the United States have made themselves worthy of that splendid tradition.

The family is the basis of human civilization. But in the eyes of the Russian Imperialists the family system was one of the basic causes of the Hungarian revolution. That is why they are intent upon destroying it root and branch. The system of "people's commune" which the Chinese Communist regime has introduced on the Chinese mainland since April, 1958, is yet another attempt by the Chinese Communists to tighten their grips on the Chinese people after the failure of their agricultural collectivization program. Under the commune system the Chinese people are forced into collective slavery in order the better to exploit their labor and to prepare for military mobilization. However, it is also the aim of the commune movement to deal a coup de grace to the traditional Chinese social and family systems. But we are confident that human nature will ultimately triumph over animal nature, and that the Chinese women will show equal determination like their menfolks in resisting Communist regimentation.

(7) Ordering National Life (治國)

We have already quoted the Confucian dictum that "It is the man that makes truth great, and not truth that makes man great." This may be regarded as a manifesto issued on behalf of Chinese humanism. In his speech on "Principles of Politics" delivered in 1939, President Chiang Kai-shek has given us an amplification of this idea, saying that in Chinese political philosophy man is the starting point of all theorizing, and that it is the object of all Chinese political philosophers to raise man's moral character, to give full scope to his worth and capabilities, and to place his relations with his fellow-men on surer foundations.

As man is the first concern of political philosophers in China, they maintain that human welfare should take precedence over all other considerations in the administration of a country. The Communists, on the other hand, being materialists, regard even man as matter and as an instrument to be used or misused as they please. Herein lies the distinction between what Dr. Sun Yat-sen has called wang tao (£ if the kingly way) and pah tao (新 if the way of the bully).

The political philosophy of Confucius is imbued with democratic ideas and

the creative spirit. Being the first to enunciate the doctrine that in education there should be no social distinctions, he regards everybody as the equal of any other person and makes China a country in which freedom and equality prevail. He thinks of the world as belonging to all its inhabitants, and is in favor of selecting the officials according to their wisdom and ability. He is, therefore, an advocate of government by the people and of carriere ouverte aux talents. It is his aim to extend popular rights and to raise the moral and intellectual level of those in government service so that there may be higher efficiency, better administration, and general cultural progress. In reply to a question by Tzu Lu (子路), one of his disciples, as to what are the conditions of good government, Confucius said, "Set yourself as an example to the people both in conduct and in physical labor" (先之, 答之。). In other words, if your own conduct is virtuous, the people will also behave themselves without the necessity for you to invoke the sanction of laws and regulations. Similarly, if you labor with your own hands, the people will never grumble even if you ask them to bear a heavy burden. This is what Confucius expects of all political leaders.

National unity, peace, and social order are emphasized again and again by Confucius in his teachings. As Tung Chung-shu (董仲行) has put it: "The theory of national unity as enunciated by Confucius in his Spring and Autumn partakes of the character of a law of nature and is a generally acknowledged truth from ancient to modern times" (春秋大一統書,天地之常經,古今之道義也。). Ever since the time of Confucius and Mencius, Chinese scholars have tried to inculcate a sense of national unity among the Chinese people by education and other means.

According to the Confucianists, the main road to peace and social order in any country lies in rule by li (社). As Tseng Kuo-fan (資品), the scholar-statesman of the nineteenth century, has said: "For all the myriad rules for regulating our personal lives and administering the country which have been handed down to us by the ancient sages, is there any guiding principle which runs through them all? Yes, there is, and that is li." Rule by li is a synthesis between rule by man and rule by law and strikes a balance between freedom and organization. Though President Chiang Kaishek is a firm believer in rule by law, it is his considered opinion that the ultimate basis of law is to be found in morality. Law per se cannot be enforced, nor can people be expected to obey it. The question of law enforcement and obedience to it boils down, in the last analysis, to a question of morals.

In the words of President Chiang: "Democracy presupposes discipline

and freedom does not mean license. Any country in which there is no discipline is a place where the Communists can easily carry out infiltration activities. Any community in which there is unbridled license is a hotbed for Communism." The anti-Communist and anti-aggression struggle in which we are engaged is a struggle between one organized entity and another. Such a struggle requires all citizens to sacrifice their individual and selfish interests for the interests of the community as a whole and to stand united in mutual help and cooperation. But this can be done only through education.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen once said that though ability and knowledge are indispensable qualities which all political leaders should have, moral integrity is still more necessary. This is one of the central themes of Chinese political philosophy.

(8) Ensuring World Peace (平天下)

In a statement issued in 1921, Dr. Sun announced to the whole world that it is the object of the founders of the Republic of China to bring about lasting peace. According to him, public morality is one of China's highest and most treasured virtues. Therefore, we find Confucius speaking enthusiastically of political leaders who would "restore lines of broken succession and revive extinguished states, put down anarchy and disorder wherever they are found, give support to the weak against the strong, and take greater pleasure in conferring benefits than in receiving them" (維絕世, 舉專國,治亂持危,厚 往而薄束). Equally noteworthy is Mencius' dictum that "It is only the nobleminded who, being more powerful than their adversary, can still submit themselves to the less powerful" (惟仁者為能以大事小。). Such utterances as these are rare gems of political wisdom which one seldom, if ever, finds in works by Western political philosophers. Western thinkers may advocate racial or national equality, but may not see how for the more powerful to submit themselves to the less powerful can ever be made a principle for bringing about world peace, nor can they be pursuaded that "to restore lines of broken succession and revive extinguished states, and to give support to the weak against the strong" are practical policies towards that end. In the eyes of Dr. Sun, this national morality of ours is a morality working for peace. Herein lies another characteristic of Chinese culture.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen once said: "China is noted for her high degree of culture. We prefer 'the kingly way' to 'the way of the bully.' By the kingly way is meant resort to love, kindness, justice, and peace as instruments to convince people of your sincerity and make them love you in return. By the way of the bully is meant resort to physical force and violence to compel

submission." According to Dr. Sun, the type of culture developed by the European Imperialist Powers was one based on brute force or the way of the bully. On the other hand, Chinese culture which is based on love, justice, and morality (年養道德) seeks to convince people by moral persuasion rather than physical coercion. It tries to make people grateful through kindness towards them instead of making them tremble with fear. The method by which such a happy result is brought about is known as "practising the kingly way," as the Chinese phrase goes. Hence Chinese culture is characterized by its insistence on the use of the kingly way as the most effective means of social control.

The San Min Chu I as enunciated by Dr. Sun is founded upon the traditional Chinese culture whose most essential characteristic is, as we have seen, the practice of the kingly way. It is the object of the San Min Chu I to work for the freedom and equality not only of China alone, but also of all other nations as well. Its final aim is to usher in the era of the Great Commonwealth in which all peoples of the world will live in harmony and perpetual peace.

Since the end of World War II the whole Eurasian heartland extending from the Elbe in the west to the Yalu in the east has been shut behind the Iron Curtain. The fall of the Chinese mainland into Communist hands poses especially a serious challenge to human culture as a whole. The Russian Imperialists claim that Communist theory is more progressive and Communist institutions are superior to anything to be found in the capitalist countries. If such were the case, why don't the Communists allow outsiders to take a real look at conditions in their countries? The test of good government which Confucius has proposed is a state of affairs which makes the people at home happy and contented and those living in neighboring countries willing to come and pay tribute (近者说,适者来。). As the Russian Imperialists endeavor by every conceivable means to prevent outsiders from going into Soviet Russia, they must have many things which they are ashamed to show to others. This is another proof that Communism is afraid of being put to the test.

The Russian and Chinese Communists have not yet succeeded in consolidating their rule over the mainland provinces, still less over all Chinese territory. Not only that, the Peiping regime may be likened to a straw man which cannot stand the impact of coming storms. This is a fact which even the Soviet leaders sometimes have to admit. The problem of China is inseparably bound up with the problem of the world as a whole. The central problem of Asia has to do with China, whose geographical position in the Far East is comparable to that of Germany in Europe. That is why we

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firmly maintain that our counterattack against the Communist-occupied mainland is at once our duty towards our brethren there and our contribution to the cause of world peace.

V. THE NATIONAL SPIRIT

(1) The San Min Chu I (三民主義)

The San Min Chu I was hailed in 1941 by the then American Ambassador to China, Mr. Nelson T. Johnson, as one of the four famous world documents, the other three being the Holy Bible, the English Magna Carta, and the American Declaration of Independence. Behind Mr. Johnson's assertion lie more than three decades of service in China and a profound knowledge of things Chinese.

The essential ideas of the San Min Chu I have been summarized in several historic documents as shown in the following table:

Documents	Principle of Nationalism	Principle of Democracy	Principle of People's Livelihood
The Chinese Constitution Dr. Sun Yat-sen's 1921	Of the people	By the people	For the people
Declaration	Liberty	Rule of law	Public welfare
President Chiang Kai- shek's Lectures on the			
San Min Chu I	Ethics	Democracy	Science
President Chiang Kai- shek's Message to the			
Nation, October 10, 1957	Independence	Liberty	Health and happiness

In his Message to the Nation issued on October 10, 1957, President Chiang made an earnest plea to his compatriots in these words: "It is unnecessary today for us to give a detailed account of the many atrocities and traitorous and oppressive acts which the Chinese Communists have committed. In the actual circumstances in which we find ourselves, we must not content ourselves with empty theories, nor is it time for us to show hesitation. We have, as a matter of fact, reached the stage at which we are called upon

to take concerted action in order to find a solution to this most fundamental of all problems." Realizing that by means of the San Min Chu I we have successively founded the Republic, achieved national unification, and emerged victorious from the War of Resistance and enabled our country to be one of the Four Great Powers at the end of World War II, we are confident that by the same means we shall be able to triumph over the Russian and Chinese Communists, to recover the mainland, and to rebuild a strong and prosperous China.

(2) Principle of Nationalism (民族主義)

Dr. Sun Yat-sen once explained the spontaneous nature of the principle of nationalism by means of an analogy. Said he: "A person always recognizes his parents when he sees them. He will never mistake them for strangers, nor mistake strangers for his parents. The same is true of the principle of nationalism, because it is inherent in human nature." Being an expression of our inner feelings and based on our rational faculties, the principle of nationalism is an indestructible conviction. As Vice Admiral Austin K. Doyle, Commander of the United States Taiwan Defense Command, said in a speech at the Political Staff College on March 27, 1958, "One of the many things that the Chinese and the Americans have in common are certain principles which have provided guidance for the course of our respective nations. Sometimes we express a thought differently, but essentially these thoughts are related in principle. Where, then, in American political concepts do we find the principle of nationalism? We find it in the American revolution, in the first sentence of the Declaration of Independence, and in our Constitution. We find it in the simple words, 'We, the people.' In those three words is the concise selfrecognition of a political entity, and of the existence of an American people, and the proclamation of that fact with pride and dignity. This, in essence, was the formal and the recorded beginning of nationalism in American history."

The history of the last thirty years shows that nationalism is a powerful opponent against Communism. In the world of today, only the force of nationalism can stem the onrushing Communist tide.

The Republic of China is built upon the foundations of justice, righteousness, equality, and freedom. It will endure as long as those principles endure. On the other hand, all traitors and puppet regimes cannot but end in ruin. When justice and peace cannot be had at one and the same time, we will not hesitate to take up arms in order to restore peace with justice. The following quotations from Chinese literature best exemplify the Chinese national spirit. Says a well-known passage in the Book of Li: "The scholar is one who, though enticed with material profits, still sticks to the course of righteousness; who, though threatened with death, does not betray his duties; and who, in spite of grave personal risks, does not yield on matters of principle" (见刊不虧其義,见元不更其守,身可危而志不可奪。). The Chinese people also firmly believe that "It is impossible for the patriot to tolerate the continued existence of traitors, nor is it possible to permit our enemy to wax strong as long as we live" (漢城不兩立,敵我不共存). Another often quoted injunction advises people "to be a broken jade rather than a piece of unbroken tile" (李為玉碎。母為瓦全). It is on these and similar ideas that the Chinese national spirit thrives.

Again to quote President Chiang Kai-shek: "That China has been able to rise up more than once after periods of national eclipse and never fall under foreign domination for good must be attributed to the traditional national spirit and the inborn sense of righteousness that has been handed down from generation to generation. With firm determination, the Chinese people will never sacrifice their honor in order to escape death. It is this sense of righteousness and dauntless spirit that has sustained us in the eight years of war against Japanese aggression. It is this same sense of righteousness and dauntless spirit that sustains us in our present anti-Communist and anti-aggression struggle and will sustain us in our task of national recovery and national reconstruction after the overthrow of the Chinese Communist regime."

(3) Principle of Democracy (民權主義)

In his book Soviet Russia in China, President Chiang has written: "In Dr. Sun Yat-sen's General Outline of National Reconstruction, it is stipulated that, once the nation is unified by the revolutionary forces, local self-government is to be introduced throughout the country and delegates chosen at the country and city levels are to meet in a National Assembly to enact a constitution and initiate the country in democracy. Following the Northward Expedition, our Government proceeded with political reconstruction in accordance with that Outline. Although the convocation of the National Assembly had to be postponed because of the Sino-Japanese War, the Government remained faithful to its pledge that constitutional rule would commence as soon as victory was won." In our endeavor to build up Taiwan as a model province in which the San Min Chu I shall be carried out, we are putting the major emphasis on local self-government based upon the sure foundation of education. We are determined to concentrate all our efforts on the schools which, in coordination with local self-government, will teach the

citizen to be self-reliant, self-sufficient, self-respecting, and self-governing.

Constitutional democracy is not only an institution, but also a way of life. Democracy and the rule of law are inseparable from each other. Without the rule of law there would be no democracy. Let us recall the quotation from President Chiang Kai-shek which has been cited in a previous connection. "Democracy presupposes discipline and freedom does not mean license," says he. "Any country in which there is no discipline is a place where the Communists can easily carry out infiltration activities. Any community in which there is unbridled license is a hotbed for Communism." In exercising our constitutional rights, we will not permit the Communists to abuse freedom and thereby destroy everybody's freedom, nor will we permit them to undermine our democracy and the rule of law under false pretenses. In order to build up a firmer foundation for constitutional government and ensure its progressive development, we must see to it that liberty goes hand in hand with responsibility, and equality with social order. Only in this way can there be progress and well-being for society at large.

The fundamentals of people's rights may also be called basic human rights. In his Message to the Nation issued on October 10, 1957, President Chiang Kai-shek proclaimed six objectives which he hoped our compatriots on the mainland would achieve. These are: (a) freedom of the worker to choose his work; (b) freedom of the farmer to be well fed and to enjoy health and happiness; (c) freedom of the people to think and study; (d) freedom of the people to lead their economic life without molestation; (e) freedom of the people to enjoy life and security; and (f) freedom of the people to choose their own way of life. In proclaiming these objectives, President Chiang regards them as our common program of action in our current anti-Communist struggle. This declaration might well be called a new charter of human rights for the Republic of China.

(4) Principle of People's Livelihood (民生主義)

Mencius said: "To show your love for the people you must learn to love even other things in existence" (仁民而爱物). The Book of Chung Yung says: "He who is able to get to the bottom of the law of being of men will be able to get to the bottom of the laws of physical nature" (能畫人之性,故能畫物之性). It is only for the welfare of the people that Confucian philosophers put any value on material things and give full scope to their potentialities. Since very ancient times all economic theory in China has taken human nature as its starting point, and all economic institutions and policies have aimed at the betterment of people's livelihood. Democracy is a form of government in

which private and public interests are nicely harmonized so that the government is one of the people, by the people, and for the people. As defined by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Minsen means people's livelihood, society's existence, the nation's economy, and the life of the masses. He regards Minsen as the central theme of politics and as the center around which all historical activities revolve. What our ancient sages call "the cultivation of virtues, the utilization of national resources, and the improvement of people's livelihood" is an attempt to put equal emphasis on the spiritual and material sides of our life, although spiritual factors undoubtedly predominate over the material. Based on the love for men and all other things in existence, the Principle of People's Livelihood would utilize modern science and engineering techniques for the economic reconstruction of China. In that process, the material things would be made to serve human needs, and not vice versa. Such a kind of neo-humanism, if applied to international relations, would be able to bring about real peace and prosperity to the whole world.

Rooted in human nature and giving priority to moral considerations, the Principle of People's Livelihood has certain points of similarity to the English type of socialism. Both are in favor of allowing State and private enterprises to complement each other, and the policy of nationalization which both of them advocate for certain branches of industry does not envisage outright expropriation but, on the contrary, provides for due compensation to the original proprietors. The land reform that has been carried out in Taiwan in recent years is a case in point. The Principle of People's Livelihood differs from Communism in that it promotes wealth and prosperity and looks forward to a future of plenty, whereas Communism makes everybody equally poor in a society in which there is little to share among the teeming millions of enslaved people. Dr. Sun Yat-sen wanted every tiller to own the piece of land he tills, but the farmer in countries behind the Iron Curtain is deprived of all his possessions. Therein lies the chief difference between the Principle of People's Livelihood and Communism.

The greatest weakness of the Soviet economy is found in declining agricultural production and the consequent shortage of food. This is the result of the farmer's lack of interest in collective farming which may eventually cause the collapse of the Russian economy. The June 17, 1953 uprising of workers in East Berlin was a measure of the intolerable conditions that prevailed on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Though East Europe is a food-producing area, still its people do not have enough to eat. They have lost all incentive to work and have no hope for the future. As to conditions on the Chinese mainland, owing to the introduction of the system of people's commune by the Chinese Communists, the Chinese people are now deprived not

only of what little they could still call their own, but also of their homes. It is almost certain that our compatriots on the mainland will be the more determined and firm in their fight against the Chinese Communists. Communism has been put to the test and found wanting.

After having made a comparative study of the economic institutions of different countries, Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived at certain conclusions. In his lectures on the Principle of People's Livelihood, he cited the example of Ford Company to show that American industrial organization is far superior to the Communist system. In President Chiang's view, industrial development should have top priority in our plans for economic reconstruction. As part of this program he insists on the necessity for implementing Dr. Sun's blueprint for industrial development and exploiting the rich natural resources of the country. In carrying out the "Industrial Development of China" (青春中期) according to the Principle of People's Livelihood, we must attain the twin objectives of "equalization of land rights" (手均地構) and "regulation of capital" (新刺資本), as taught by Dr. Sun. When those objectives are attained, the State will have full control over the flow of capital and the broad masses of the people will enjoy all the good things of life.

By the publication of his Chapters on National Fecundity, Social Welfare, Education, Health and Happiness as supplements to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Lectures of the Principle of People's Livelihood, President Chiang has laid a firm foundation for national peace and prosperity. The work is broad in scope. It tries to fulfill the revolutionary task of providing opportunity for every citizen to have a full and meaningful life. All the provisions for social welfare, education, health and happiness as envisaged by President Chiang, instead of being merely items for consumption, really partake of the nature of profitable enterprises. For example, investments in cultural enterprises tend to create more opportunities for employment, increase the national income, and boost the purchasing power of society as a whole. With the boosting of the purchasing power of society, all public and private enterprises will have a better environment to operate in and become more prosperous. In this way, we shall be able to see the realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's dream that "The more civilized we are, the more prosperous the country is." It behooves us to utilize scientific discoveries to build up a free and secure social order for the purpose of strengthening our political position in preparation for our counterattack against the Communist-held mainland.

(5) The Five-Power Constitution (五權憲法)

In founding the Chinese Republic, it was the object of Dr. Sun Yat-sen

to see the emergence of a country dedicated to the San Min Chu I and the establishment of a government based on a "five-power constitution." Dr. Sun's ideas are derived from both East and West. He chooses only the best in each and discards the rest. Some persons have mistakenly imagined that he is more indebted to the West than to the East. But he himself has explicitly declared that what China wants from the West is only its science and not its political philosophy. It must be pointed out that the most fundamental ideas in the San Min Chu I and the "five-power constitution" are rooted in our national ideals and the best traditions of the Chinese people.

Four prominent features have characterized Chinese political institutions since ancient times. One of them is differentiation between political power and governing power. The governing power which is vested in the prime minister as head of the executive branch of government stands in contrast to the political power as represented by the Emperor. It is the prime minister who dauntlessly guards the people's rights from encroachment by the monarch. Yi Ying (尹尹), the Duke of Chou (周公), Kwan Chung (奈仲), and Tzu Chan (子名) are a few of the most noted prime ministers in Chinese history.

A second feature of Chinese political institutions is the differentiation of functions in the central government and the maintenance of a high degree of cooperation among the various departments. The example of the Tang Dynasty (永代) may be cited as a classic instance. The division of powers among the three sheng (三省) looks pretty like the arrangements in a modern constitutional democracy. The shangshu sheng (尚書省) had executive powers, including the power to hold government examinations. The chungshu sheng (中書省) was in charge of legislation and the menghsia sheng (門下省) was vested with judicial and supervisory powers.

Another feature of Chinese political institutions is the fair distribution of power between the central and local governments. While the central government has authority, there is ample room for the local government to take the initiative in the area of its competence. Such a system of government, which is neither centralization nor decentralization, is aimed at striking a due balance between the central and local authorities.

A fourth feature of Chinese political institutions is the selection of officials according to their wisdom and ability. Later generations have followed the Confucian teaching that in education there should be no social distinctions. Application of this principle to State examinations has enabled people from the lowest strata of society to be appointed to high government offices. Being without any hereditary nobility, China has succeeded in removing all

racial, regional, family, and occupational discriminations. In this way, the Chinese people have learned to share each other's joys and sorrows and to see the emergence of a great unified nation.

Government in China is a government of scholars. Since the scholars come mostly from the ranks of the common people, it is really a government of the people. Though there was no written constitution in ancient China, the hearts of our ancestors were set on the promotion of popular government. This is another point which all students of Chinese political philosophy should note with care.

Chinese culture fosters the growth of democracy through education, and the history of the Chinese nation is a continuous struggle for democracy. The results of centuries of efforts may be seen in the political and social institutions which are the glory of the Chinese people. As President Chiang Kai-shek has said: "The 5,000-year history of the Chinese nation is a record of brilliant achievements in spite of barbarian invasions and foreign encroachments. Such a long and splendid history can never be obliterated, even though the Russian Imperialists try by every means to make people forget it. The culture of the Chinese people has developed in spite of national misfortunes and disasters. Such a highly refined and noble culture can never be done away with, even though the Chinese Communists try to distort it to suit their own wicked purposes. It must be remembered that the Chinese people are noted for their tenacity of purpose. Once they are convinced of the rightcousness of their cause, they will fight to the bitter end and will never yield to any force in the form of either foreign aggression or domestic rebellion." Though China is being faced with unprecedented difficulties in building up a new nation, we are confident that as soon as the national traitors and the common enemies of mankind are removed, the Chinese people will continue to make further contributions to human culture.

CONCLUSION

The fall of the Chinese mainland into Communist hands is a great shame and dishonor to the Chinese people. It is our sacred mission, after having recovered Taiwan after half a century of foreign occupation, also to recover the mainland by overthrowing the puppet Peiping regime. By making this island bastion our base of operation, we are determined to concentrate all our material and spiritual strength to overcome all obstacles. We will sacrifice everything we have in order to win national independence for China and to assure Asian security and world peace.

It is the aim of the San Min Chu I to create a government of the peo-

ple, by the people, and for the people. But on the Communist-occupied mainland of today the people are deprived of all material possessions and rights. Hence our struggle against the Chinese Communists is not confined to Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu, but extends to every corner of the Chinese mainland where the people are enslaved and want to throw off their shackles. All patriotic Chinese who loathe and do not accept the despotic rule of the Chinese Communists are our allies in our eventual counterattack against the mainland.

It is a universal rule in human history that the forces of patriotism will ultimately triumph over those of treason; that human nature will triumph over animal nature; and that democracy and freedom will prevail over totalitarianism and slavery. We are firmly convinced that it is only by recovering the Chinese mainland together with its teeming population and vast natural resources that peace and order can be restored to Asia. Therefore, our counterattack against the Chinese mainland is both our duty to our country and people and a task through which we can make our greatest contribution to world peace.

Communism which is the very antithesis of the San Min Chu I by being opposed to the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy, and the Principle of People's Livelihood, has had all its weaknesses exposed. The year 1957 saw the rising of enslaved peoples against their Communist taskmasters and marked the beginning of the downfall of Communist regimes. It was a turning point in the global anti-Communist struggle. As President Chiang Kai-shek has pointed out, "The revolutionary masses in Hungary, Sikang, and Tibet are writing anew the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man with their own blood, and are giving new meaning to those historic documents by direct action." We firmly believe that the parallel development of the revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia will eventually give rise to a gigantic force for the overthrow of the Russian and Chinese Communists and the rebuilding of a free, democratic, and peaceful world.

The Ethics of Confucianism

By Paul K. T. Sih (薛光前)

"I am...a citizen of no mean city," St. Paul announced, proud of his citizenship in imperial Rome. Likewise, the Chinese are proud of their cultural heritage which communicates a sense of the ancient past. Such a sense of history is characteristic of the Confucian tradition. In fact, we find in Confucianism a historical continuity and a consistent development of the concept of a moral order which governs all social forms and human relations.

Confucianism had its origin in Confucius (551-478 B.C.), who was born into a poor but aristocratic family in Shantung province. Confucius' family name was K'ung. As a youth he became absorbed in the history, poetry and music of ancient China. Although he aspired to become a statesman and for many years wandered from State to State offering his services, most of his life was spent as a teacher and in the task of editing the classical writings of the Chinese archaic tradition. Insisting that he was "a transmitter, not a creator," Confucius wrote little himself. But from his utterances, lovingly recorded by his disciples, emerged the system of ethics which became the heart of Chinese civilization.

Under successive dynasties official veneration was accorded Confucius—not as a god, but as a sage and as a teacher. In the temples erected to him and his principal disciples, there are no statues or image of the sage, only tablets inscribed with his name.

As centuries passed, posthumous titles were heaped on Confucius. He was named progressively Duke, Prince, Venerable Sage of Former Times and Sacred Teacher of Antiquity. In 1906 the last Manchu emperor elevated him to a position beside Heaven and Earth, the highest objects of veneration. Although the cult of Confucianism languished after the empire, the National Government of the Republic of China in 1934 proclaimed Confucius' birthday a

^{1 &}quot;Confucius" being a Latinization by Jesuit missionaries of K'ung Fu-tzu, i.e., "Grand Master K'ung."

holiday—an occasion still observed by the people of Free China in Taiwan and the Chinese overseas who venerate the Sage.² This is, of course, not true of the Chinese Communists who have ordered, in the last few years, the burning of almost every work attributed to Confucius. I am absolutely sure that this cutrageous act will not be well with them, and that Communism cannot last long upon the earth.

As to the thought of Confucius, it developed during a prolonged period of political crises. He saw the gradual disintegration of the feudal system which had held the Kingdom together in its early stages. He witnessed violent conflict in which local princes and vassals indulged in selfish struggle and conventional allegiance to the Throne became superficial. Complete moral disintegration resulted and "intrigues, murders, assassinations, rebellions, usurpations, and notorious immoralities were the order of the day." In short, Confucius lived at a time when men were not like men, for they seemed to have lost their humanity; and this was especially true of the ruling classes.

Thus, Confucius' energies and ambitions sought deeper, more satisfying expression than the political order could provide. He turned to basic moral and ethical teachings, which laid the foundation of Chinese political theory and natural philosophy for almost 2,500 years.

Humanity is the central, unifying subject of Confucius' ethical ideas. "No man of true ambition and humanity will seek life at the expense of hu manity;" he said, "on the contrary, he will, when necessary, give up his life in order to achieve his humanity." Thus, to Confucius, humanity is dearer even than life.

But what exactly is the virtue of humanity? To Confucius, humanity viewed in its entirety has three measures: height (toward God), depth (toward one's self), and breadth (toward one's neighbors).

In its height, humanity soars up to Heaven (for Confucius, it is another

² The governmental order dated May 31, 1934 read that August 27, the birthday of Confucius, should be observed as a National Holiday, on which official delegates of the government should participate in the sacrificial ceremonies at Chufu (of Shantung province), the birth place of the great sage. (See THE CHINESE YEAR BOOK, 1944-45, The China Daily Tribune Publishing Co., Shanghai, p. 114.)

³ CONFUCIUS: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS, by John C. H. Wu, Seton Hall Press, New Jersey, 1951, p. 35. Hereafter cited as Wu, CONFUCIUS.

⁴ THE ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS, 15, 8, translated by John C, H, Wu in manuscript form. Hereafter cited as Wu version.

name of God) from Whom it takes the definite measure of what is good and true. Thus, "If a man in the morning embraces the law of Heaven, then he may die in the same evening without regret." But, "If one gives offence to Heaven one has nowhere else to expiate his sins." 6

In its depth, humanity penetrates the heart of one's self, holding everything together in the cultivation of a full personality. So he maintained, "To conquer one's self and return to what is right and proper, this is true humanity." Besides, he advocated the development of human nature, as he said, "When nature prevails over culture, you get the boorishness of the rustic. When culture prevails over nature, you get the pedantry of the scribe. Only when culture and nature are duly blended do you get the true gentleman." 8

In its breadth, humanity embraces one's neighbors and establishes a general standard for social conduct and unity. In this respect, Confucius said, "Who can realize humanity? Perhaps, it would take a sage to do it. Yet, even Yao and Shun felt their deficiency therein. For a man of true humanity is one who desiring to stand firm himself helps others to stand firm, and desiring to develop himself fully helps others to develop themselves fully. To be able from one's self to draw a parallel for the treatment of others, this may be called the art of humanity." Humanity is the ethical standard by which man can hope to achieve the full attainment of human stature.

Thus, the realization of full humanity in its height, depth, and breadth, in the words of John C. H. Wu, requires:

The most conscientious performance of one's duties toward Heaven, toward one's self, and toward others. Such is the ideal that Confucius set for himself and for all men. If his system is called humanism, it is a humanism in all its plenitude, in which no values of civilization are missing. In this system the virtue of humanity occupies the same position as charity does in the Christian religion. It is the queen of virtues, the bond of perfection. All other virtues are subordinated to it, and all talents and accomplishments minister unto it. As a matter of fact, Confucius himself expressed this idea in a magnificent passage found in LI KI: "Gentleness and meekness constitute the essence of humanity: reverence and prudence,

⁵ THE ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS, 4, 8, translated by James Legge. Hereafter cited as Legge version.

⁶ Ibid., 3, 13, 2 (Wu version).

⁷ Ibid., 12, 1, (Wu version).

⁸ Ibid., 6, 16 (Wu version).

⁹ Ibid., 6, 28, 1-3 (Wu version).

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its foundation; broadmindedness and generosity, its flowering; humility and courtesy, its function; ceremony and ritual, its manners; sharing and distribution, its expansion. A scholar combines all these qualities, but still he dares not claim full humanity."¹⁰

From this, it is evident that self-cultivation leads to the full growth of man's personality. This is the central thread that runs through the whole system of Confucian ethics.

In the Confucian conception, man's personality reflects itself in his action and behavior in the Five Relationships: between ruler and subject; father and son; husband and wife; elder brother and younger brother; older friend and younger friend. These five are the "great" relationships which Confucius recognised as fundamental to social order.

From this ethical principle Confucius' disciples later evolved the ten attitudes by which the Five Relationships should be governed. They are: love in the father, filial piety in the son; gentility in the eldest brother, humility and respect in the younger; righteous behavior in the husband, obedience in the wife; humane consideration in elders, deference in juniors; benevolence in rulers, loyalty in subjects.

One who follows the Confucian teachings has to try his best in order to fulfill his duty in each of the five different relationships: (1) in his relationship to himself (realization to the true self); (2) in his relationship to his family; (3) in his relationship to his community; (4) in his relationship to the nation; (5) in his relationship to the world. Among these, the relationship to the family is foremost.

It is through the genuine fulfillment of the relationship to the family that the fulfillment of the other relationships will follow and be in accord. In other words, it is this single all-embracing attitude of family devotion and love that binds together all social relationships and makes the family a micricism reflecting the order of human society. It is the family that links all and tops all.

Those who have been in China realize that the family in China is, even now, an institution of much wider scope than the Western family. As Rev. Thomas F. Ryan, S. J. puts it, "It is the clan system in operation, with common as well as individual, ownership and responsibilities, and it is at one time

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¹⁰ Wu, CONFUCIUS, pp. 37-38.

a co-operative society, an insurance society and a unit of Home-Guard. The youth who grows up in it learns the value of authority and of public (family) opinion; he knows how ownership is shared in the family Hall in the native village where reunions are held; he knows how education affects his status, and how obligations and privileges increase and balance one another." 11

Actually, the family system is the basis for self-education. To Confucius, the aim of education is not the mere imparting of knowledge, but the formation of character, the making of man. Progress in virtue should bear a just proportion to progress in knowledge. Thus moral discipline and proper conduct, like charity, should begin at home. It is at home that parents and children both learn to do the decent thing, the sensible thing, the appropriate thing, the right thing. They have to work together so thay learn to be fair and kind to each other. No one can expect to be a faithful member in the community and a loyal citizen toward the nation, unless he is an accomplished partner in the family. The family is the starting point for everyone to grow in responsibility and to put his learning to work in useful and proper ways. This is being so, education means the developing of the man; to be educated is to become humanized.

What Confucius calls education must be based on the most inward nature of the human spirit. For Confucius, education disciplines human nature and habituates it to a rational integration of the components of the soul—the condition of harmony and peace. When education imparts this living knowledge, law or coercive sanction becomes unnecessary. Only when the dominance of reason is upset by ignorance or passion is recourse to external discipline necessary. "In hearing litigations," as Confucius said, "I am like any other body. What is necessary, however, is to cause the people to have no litigations." ¹² This is why Confucius has been regarded in the long history of China, not as a political thinker, but as, in the words of Dr. Chang Chi-yun, ex-Minister of Education of the Republic of China, "the greatest educator whose birthday is now rightly designated as the 'Teachers' Day'." ¹³ This may also offer the explanation why in New York City where juvenile delinquency is at an all-time high the "Chinatown" youth maintains an orderly life because they were trained in the old-fashioned system of education rooted in the Confucian

¹¹ CHINESE THROUGH CATHOLIC EYES, Catholic Truth Society, Hong Kong, 1941, p. 39. Hereafter cited as Ryan, CATHOLIC EYES.

¹² THE ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS, 12, 13 (Legge version).

¹³ A LIFE OF CONFUCIUS, translated by Shih Chao-yin, China Culture Publishing Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan, 1954, p. 43.

tradition. 14

If sometimes people consider the Chinese too clannish, they should remember the benefits as well as the disadvantages of the system. Its chief advantage is its basic training in the importance of a proper kind of education, mostly self-education. When depression strikes a foreign country the Chinese who are working there do not go on a relief roll—the family provides for them!

But this is a digression. My point is this: in the Confucian tradition the family is the center of life and filial piety constitutes the bond of perfection. All things lead to it; and all things flow from it. As Dom Pierre-Celestin Lou Tseng-tsiang puts it, "The bond of family life is filial piety... Through it we bind ourselves to all the generations which have preceded us. We enter into what they are. We enter what they have made us, and we enter into ourselves... Filial piety is the principle which conditions all the spiritual and moral life of mankind, from its most distant past to its uttermost future." By diligent practice of filial piety the way of human perfection is found.

It is for this reason that THE TWENTY-FOUR EXAMPLES OF FILIAL PIETY was included in the Canon of Sacred Scripture of Confucianism, which throughout medieval China and down to fairly recent times was regarded as the highest authority in all matters of morals, law, social relations and government policy—an authority comparable to that of the Bible in the Christian countries.¹⁶

To show how deeply this Confucian teaching of filial piety has influenced the hearts of the Chinese, let me quote a passage from Dr. John C.H. Wu:

I began my schooling under the tutorship of three Confucian scholars successively. One of the first books I studied was THE TWENTY-FOUR EXAMPLES OF FILIAL PIETY. Each lesson was concluded with a charming little poem of four lines with five words to each line. The first lesson, I remember, dealt with the filial piety of Emperor Shun. The poem that summed up that lesson contained a line which sank so deep into my mind that even now, after a lapse of more than forty years, I have often caught myself humming it quite unconsciously: "The filial heart moves the heart

¹⁴ See "Our Amazing Chinese Kids," by James C. G. Conniff, CORONET, December 1955, pp. 31-36.

¹⁵ Dom Lou, WAYS OF CONFUCIUS, pp. 108-109.

¹⁶ Besides THE TWENTY-FOUR EXAMPLES OF FILIAL PIETY, the Canon of Sacred Scripture of Confucianism consists of THE ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS, and THE BOOK MENCIUS.

of Heaven."

That there is a sympathetic vibration between the heart of man and the heart of Heaven is one of the implicit beliefs in the Confucian system of thought.¹⁷

Just to show how great importance Confucius attached to family solidarity, one instance suffices:

Once a duke informed Confucius, saying, "Among us here are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their fathers have stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact." To this, Confucius replied, "Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this." 18

From this, it is clear that law alone is a very inadequate definition of the demand of Confucius on men. To him, social order and justice have a source which is deeper than external measures; this source must come from natural reason and conscience inherent in human character and expressed through family love. It is legitimate for one to bear witness to others' misconduct. But the processes of justice should not be exploited at the expense of family devotion. Were this not so, the courts would be turned into the instruments of gross injustice. In short, Confucius' fundamental aim was to rectify men rather than politics, for he wished them to realize that the life of men and of states flows from the spirit based primarily on family. When the family spirit is right the community will be healthy, contented and strong.

From this it is clear that the keynote of Confucianism is filial piety. This virtue ranks supreme among all human qualities. It is the highest virtue that Confucius sets for morality. Filial piety alone comprehends the whole duty of man towards Heaven, towards himself and towards his relations—a concept which diametrically contrasts with the materialistic philosophy of Communism. Communism is not just materialistic; it is militantly anti-moral. It denounces the family and brands filial piety as "the source of all evils." For Communications of the source of all evils."

¹⁷ THE CHINA MONTHLY, New York, October 1947, pp. 340-41.

¹⁸ THE ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS, 13, 18 (Legge version).

¹⁹ According to the Peiping Kwang Min Daily of June 7, 1958, the Red regime denounced the CLASSICS OF FILIAL PIETY as anti-socialism and should be suppressed forever. The book, one of the Thirteen Classics, is a dialogue between Confucius and his disciple Tseng Tze on the virtue of filial piety.

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nism, moral law derives solely from the concept of matter in motion. There can be no absolute truth, no permanent standards of behavior. Progress comes from contradiction, conflict, struggle. Hatred, not love, is its dynamic. The Marxist man stands at the exactly opposite pole to the man brought up in Confucian tradition and ethics.

Confucianism and Communism are totally incompatible. Anyone who seeks to prove the compatibility between the philosophy of Communism and the ethics of Confucius is a betrayer not only of Chinese cultural heritage but also of human natural conscience.

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The Chinese Government Structures and Their Operations

By Chi-ch'ing Yao (姚洪清)

The National Government of China consists of five Yuans, of which the Executive Yuan is the highest administrative organ. By the highest, it is simply meant that all the administrative agencies are subject to the supervision of the Executive Yuan, and none can excel it, in so far as the administrative function is concerned.

The duty of the Executive Yuan is to direct, coordinate and keep under constant review the work of its subordinate Ministries, Commissions and other organs, and through them, to exercise general supervision over the administration of the provinces and special municipalities. It is the duty of the Executive Yuan to regulate the relationships between the Ministries and the Commissions and to examine their budget, appointment and policy.

Under the Executive Yuan, the Ministries are vested with the right to formulate policy, but final decision still rests with the Executive Yuan, or to put it more properly, the Executive Yuan Council. The Constitution of China provides, "The Executive Yuan shall have an Executive Yuan Council, to be composed of its President, (or Premier) Vice-President, Ministers, Chairmen of Commissions and Ministers without Portfolio, with the President as the chairman." When the President is unable to preside, the Vice-President will act on his behalf. When both the President and Vice-President are unable to preside, the members of the Council may choose one from those present as the chairman. The Council is the highest decision-making organ of all administrative policies. At the Council's meeting the following matters are open for discussion in order to reach a decision:

- 1. Bills concerning statute, budget, martial law, amnesty, declaration of war, conclusion of peace or of treaties and other important matters, which shall be submitted to the Legislative Yuan for deliberation;
 - 2. Matters of common concern to the Ministries and Commissions;
 - 3. Matters concerning the creation, combination or abolition of govern-

ment agencies, and

4. Other important matters, such as a decision on important policy, administrative direction and the appointment or removal of officials with the Selected Appointment Rank² according to the Law of Appointment.

The Legislative Yuan may express dissent to an important policy by a resolution so as to force the Executive Yuan to change its policy in order to suit the wishes of the lawmakers.³ The Executive Yuan may, however, request the Legislative Yuan to reconsider its stand, if it obtains the previous approval from the President of the Republic. When two thirds of the members of the Legislative Yuan present at the meeting adhere to the original resolution after reconsideration, the President of the Executive Yuan shall either abide by the resolution or resign from office.

The Legislative Yuan deliberates and makes a final decision on the statutory, budgetary and treaty bills. If the Executive Yuan deems such a decision difficult of execution, it may, with the approval of the President of the Republic and within ten days, request the Legislative Yuan to reconsider the resolution. If two thirds of the members of the Legislative Yuan present at the meeting uphold the original resolution, the President of the Executive Yuan will have to face a decision to abide by the resolution or to resign.

The following is a further description of the framework of the National Government within which the government activities are operated.

1. LAW AND POLICY

A government policy is generally expressed in the form of law. In a broad sense, law may cover regulations, rules and executive ordinances. In a narrow sense, law refers only to those rules which are approved by the Legislative Yuan through the proper legal procedures and caused to be promulgated by the President. The following matters shall be governed by law:

- (1) Matters to be regulated by law according to the provisions of the Constitution or law;
 - (2) Matters relating to the rights and obligations of the people;
 - (3) Matters relating to the organization of government agencies, and
- (4) Matters relating to the amendment and repeal of law.4 Where matters shall be regulated by law according to the provisions of the Standard-

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ized Law Governing the Enactment of Laws and Regulations, it is not allowed to substitute an executive ordinance for law. An executive ordinance immediately loses its effect, if it contravenes law.

A statutory bill will have to go through the procedure of three readings in the Legislative Yuan before it can be made a law. But a third reading may be waived upon the proposal of more than thirty members present at a meeting and by a resolution of the members present. When a statutory bill is on agenda for the first reading, the chairman announces the reading of the bill. If the bill is proposed by a government agency, the bill will be referred forthwith to the relevant committees for examination. It may, however, be submitted to the Council of the Legislative Yuan for discussion, if it is proposed by over twenty members present at the meeting, and resolved by the present members. Whenever a bill is proposed by members of the Legislative Yuan, the members will adopt a resolution of annulment or examination after the propounders give an account of the bill.

At the meeting for a second reading, the members discuss the bill which is referred to the committee for scrutiny. Occasionally, the bill is presented to the Council's meeting for discussion, even without a previous examination. At this meeting, the members may exchange their viewpoints extensively, and adopt, if necessary, a resolution of annulment upon the proposal of over twenty members present at the meeting. Otherwise, the members are required to go through article by article of the bill.⁶

At the meeting for a third reading, the members shall concentrate on literary improvement, except for gross negligence at the previous reading, such as its conflict with the Constitution or another law. Finally the members will cast their votes on the bill as a whole to see whether it stands or fails.

2. POLICY-MAKING ORGANIZATIONS

(1) As already indicated, the Chinese Legislative Yuan is the highest law-making agency, exercising the legislative power for the Chinese people. Members of the Legislative Yuan can take initiative to propose statutory bills, if they are proposed and signed by more than thirty members. The members have also the right to go through the bills according to the regular procedure. Whenever a government policy is written into a bill, the law-making body practically makes the final decision.

In respect of the statutory bills of martial law, amnesty, declaration of war, conclusion of peace or of treaties, and other important matters, it is for the

Legislative Yuan to make a final decision. According to the Constitution, the Executive Yuan is bound to present its budget to the Legislative Yuan three months ahead of the next fiscal year.

The Legislative Yuan may again by resolution request the Executive Yuan to alter its important policy, if it is unable to concur. This is, in fact, one of the most important functions exercised by the Legislative Yuan. But such a request may subsequently result in a resignation of the Premier or the President of the Executive Yuan.

Furthermore, when the Legislative Yuan is in session, the Executive Yuan is generally asked to present to it a statement of administrative policy and a report on its administration. Members of the Legislative Yuan are entitled to interpellate the Premier, Ministers and Chairmen of the Executive Yuan. By interpellation and going through the bills, the lawmakers virtually participate in the shaping of a policy.

(2) The Chief Executive

The President of the Republic of China wields such powers and performs such functions as are usually granted to the chief executive of a republic. He is the head of the state, and represents it in foreign relations. He commands the air, sea and land forces. Subject to the restraints of the Legislative Yuan, he exercises the powers of making treaties, declaration of war, and making peace. Except as otherwise provided by law, he appoints and removes civil and military officers. He grants general amnesties, pardon, remission of sentences, and restitution of civil rights. He also confers honors and awards decorations.

One of the major functions exercised by the President of the Republic is to approve, as previously indicated, the resolution of the Executive Yuan which calls upon the Legislative Yuan to reconsider its request. The President has the constitutional right to promulgate law and proclaim executive order, which are countersigned by the Premier, or sometimes by both the Premier and the Minister concerned.

The President is vested with emergency powers exercisable during a calamity, an epidemic or an economic crisis. Art. 43 of the Constitution provides that when a natural calamity, an epidemic, or a national financial or economic crisis calls for emergency measures, the President may, during the recess of the legislative Yuan, issue emergency orders by resolution of the Executive Yuan Council, and, according to the Law of Emergency Orders, pro-

claim such measures as are necessary to cope with the situation. Such an order should, however, be presented to the Legislative Yuan for confirmation within one month after the issuance. If the Legislative Yuan disaffirms, the order shall forthwith lose its effect.

(3) The Judicial Yuan

The Judicial Yuan is the highest organ in charge of civil, criminal and administrative trials and the disciplinary measures against civil servants. The judges shall be free from partisanship and conduct trials independent of external influence. The Judicial Yuan has also the power to interpret the Consitution and to unify the interpretations of laws and ordinances. In fact, it is the Council of Grand Justices which sit to interpret the constitutional issues. Any central or local agencies may call upon the Council of Grand Justices to interpret, whenever a doubt arises as to the application of the Constitution to matters within their competence, and the conflict of laws and administrative orders with the Constitution.

(4) Administrative Agencies, Political Parties and Civil Groups

As a rule, a political party is to fulfil through the party members who get elected its aims for which it is organized. A government party can often exert considerable influence upon the formation of policy.

In China the Nationalist Party which has been in power carries a great deal of weight in policy matters. The minor parties, such as the Youth Party and the Social Democratic Party, can also contribute to the shaping of policy by their members in the Legislative Yuan and the party publications to manipulate public opinion. Business, industrial, agricultural and civil groups have exercised due influence upon the government policy through mass media of communications and the like. Occupational guilds and associations which are chiefly concerned with the promotion of their common interests are also vehicles through which better understanding of both the members and the government can be achieved. It is not infrequently seen that they present their views on a given matter to the Government for the purpose of subsequent policy-making.

Closely related to the previous description is the right of petition of the people. The National Government promulgated in 1954 the Law of Petition, which regulates the petition of the people to the lawmaking bodies and administrative agencies in order to protect national policy, public interest, and their own rights.

3. THE STRUCTURE OF EXECUTIVE POWER

According to the Western theory of separation of power, the examination power is a part of the executive power. In China, it is severed from the Executive Yuan and belongs to the Examination Yuan which was created to attend to personnel administration and civil service examinations. Examination has a long history in China. It owes its origin to the Han Dynasty, or still further to the Chou Dynasty, if examination is construed to handpick competent persons throughout the country for public office by the agents of the emperors. It was improved gradually in the history, and reached its apex of perfection in the Tang Dynasty. Throughout the Chinese history, this time-honoured system was inherited continuously dynasty after dynasty. Dr. Sun Yat-sen deemed it a cultural heritage, and proposed to make it an independent power. The Examination Yuan is now the supreme organ for examination, enjoying the same prestige, if not power, as the other four Yuans.

In the Examination Yuan there is a Council, which is a policy-making organ for all matters of personnel administration. The President, the Vice-President and the nineteen Commissioners of Examination are all the participants in the Council's meeting. When policy matters are decided in the Council, it is then for the subordinate Ministries to carry into execution.

Within the framework of the said two Yuans, each Ministry is headed by a Minister, a Political Vice-Minister, an Administrative Vice-Minister, Department Chiefs and Secretaries. Its functions are performed respectively by the operating agency, staff agency, auxiliary agency and secretariat, all share in the daily administrative matters. Their activities are as follows:

- (1) Premier: The Premier is the chief of the Executive Yuan and concurrently chairman of the Executive Yuan Council. He is assisted by a Vice-Premier, a Secretariat and an operating agency to process matters presented for review from the subordinate Ministries;
- (2) Ministers: Ministers are nominated by the Premier of the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President. They map out policy and plan for activities;
- (3) Vice-Ministers: The Political Vice-Minister is appointed to assist the Minister in making policy and planning for the activities of the Ministry. The Administrative Vice-Minister attends to administrative matters, such as finance, personnel, materiel management and the like. Administrative matters

are executed by the auxiliary agency, known as the department of general affairs, comptroller's office and personnel office, all are, in theory at least, subject to the direct supervision of the Administrative Vice-Minister;

(4) Other operating agencies under the Ministry are departments, committees, bureaux and sections, varied according to the organic laws of the Ministries.

The Premier of the Executive Yuan is nominated by the President of the Republic and concurred in by the Legislative Yuan. When the position of the Premier is left vacant, the Vice-Premier shall act ad interim. The President will however nominate within forty days a candidate for premiership to be considered by the Legislative Yuan. The Chinese law does not set forth specific conditions which govern the selection of a Premier. Many a factor may naturally affect the selection, but some are basic. He should, for instance, be a Chinese national by birth, and possess those requirements which are provided by the Law of Nationality. The Chinese Law of Nationality provides that a naturalized citizen shall not be appointed as Presidents of the five Yuans, Ministers and Chairmen of the Commissions.

The Chinese Constitution makes no provision for his term of office. However, the Premier may, as already indicated, resign from office if two thirds of the members of the Legislative Yuan uphold their resolution to request the Executive Yuan to alter an important policy.

The Premier of the Executive Yuan is invested with the following power:

- (1) The Premier is obligated to present a statement of policy to the Legislative Yuan on behalf of the Executive Yuan, and also the bill as prescribed in the Constitution. The Premier is also required to countersign the bills and ordinances to be promulgated by the President of the Republic.
- (2) The Premier is the leader of the Executive Yuan Council, which is, as stated above, a policy-making organ. It is true that any decision at the Council is reached by voting, and the Premier is entitled to no more voting power than the other members, but the Premier can still perform his leadership by virtue of the nomination power. The Vice-Premier, Ministers and Ministers Without Portfolio are all nominated by the Premier with the approval of the President. This power of nomination greatly enhances the position of the Premier. To carry this to the logical extreme, a Minister or Minister Without Portfolio can hardly hold his job, if he is unable to

serve with the pleasure of the Premier. The premier can naturally effect a partial or whole reshuffle of the Executive Yuan so as to bring in new men to better cooperate with him in order to attain policy objectives.

(3) The Premier may also act on behalf of the President of the Republic whenever the President and the Vice-President are both unable to perform their duties. However, he shall not hold such a power longer than three months.

In the Chinese Government, auxiliary service is performed by the following offices: secretariat, counsellor's office, comptroller's office, personnel office and so forth. The secretariat attends to the receipt, transmission and custody of documents, compilation and drafting, and seals and others. The counsellor's office attends to drafting of laws and ordinances, planning, translation, investigation and review of planning and reports from subordinate agencies. The comptroller's office attends to accounting, budget and statistics. The personnel office attends to the matters of personnel administration.

4. THE ORGANIZATION OF CIVIL SERVICE

All personnel offices throughout the country are subject to the jurisdiction of the Examination Yuan. At the provincial level, a personnel office is attached to each provincial government, and at the county level, each county has a personnel office of its own. In fact, personnel offices of smaller size are also set up in the various departments of the provincial government, attending to personnel matters of the department. There is no regional personnel office in Taiwan, but the Ministry of Personnel holds regional conferences from time to time, when it sees fit. The personnel offices way below the county level are all subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Personnel, but the provincial personnel office is an intermediate one, directly supervising the county personnel offices.

The above contour explains the hierarchy of the nationwide personnel network.

The function of examination becomes increasingly important, if, as the Chinese Constitution provides, the government positions are open to those only who have passed the civil service examinations. The National Government has promulgated a variety of laws and regulations to govern the personnel activities throughout the country. Local government may also issue supplementary rules which shall not be inconsistent with the law.

Matters concerned with examination, appointment, pay, service-rating, retirement, compensation and discipline are all governed by the codified laws. Since 1954, the National Government in China has engaged in the study and planning of position classification. After the successful planning of more than 120,000 positions, the government is considering the ways and means of implementation.

Personnel policy in China is more influenced by national policy than by pressures from political factions or private groups. The immutable national policy in China is now aimed at the recovery of the Chinese mainland. In doing so, the personnel policy is naturally liable to coordinate and integrate with this national policy, even occasionally at the expense of administrative efficiency. For instance, any person performing an unusual service for the country may be placed in future in the government agencies with a rank to be determined by the value of the service. The Government has also laid down the policy to encourage students studying abroad to return to work in Taiwan. Special consideration will be given to these returned students by the Ministry of Personnel concerning their official rank. The above instances are similar in rationale to the practices of veteran preference in other countries.

5. ORGANS FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

To meet the need of socio-economic development, the Executive Yuan has set up the Economic Stabilization Board and the Foreign Exchange and Trade Control Commission. Prior to each fiscal year, an outline of administrative plan for the next year is drawn up and goes through the Executive Yuan Council. It is then for the subordinate agencies of the Executive Yuan to draw up a more detailed program for implementation.

An annual economic plan is drafted by the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Economic Stabilization Board (ESB), the Foreign Exchange and Trade Control Commission (FETCC) and the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstuction (JCRR) on the basis of the said outline of administrative plan. Of the four agencies the first three are subordinate directly to the Executive Yuan, while JCRR is a Sino-American joint agency, with a small American staff. JCRR has been instrumental in assisting the Government in planning and enforcing rural reconstruction projects.

The following is a general description of the organization patterns of the bove agencies:

- (1) The Ministry of Economic Affairs: MOEA is chiefly concerned with national economic administration and other related economic activities. It directs and supervises the responsible officials of the local Government in performing duties properly within its jurisdiction. In the Ministry there are six Departments, namely, Department of Industry, Department of Mining, Department of Commerce, Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Department of Water Conservancy, Department of Government Operated Enterprises.
- A. The Department of Industry attends to planning, coordination, encouragement, protection and supervision of industries and industrial administration;
- B. The Department of Mining is in charge of planning, coordination, encouragement, protection and supervision of mining and mining administration;
- C. The Department of Commerce is in charge of encouragement, protection, supervision and expansion of both domestic and foreign trade and commercial administration;
- D. The Department of Agriculture and Forestry attends to experiment, examination, protection, encouragement and expansion of agriculture and forestry and fishery;
- E. The Department of Water Conservancy attends to water rights, planning, repair, control and maintenance of rivers, dikes, irrigation and other matters of water conservancy;
- F. The Department of Government-operated Enterprises attends to the creation and adjustment of government-operated industrial, mining and electric enterprises, and supervision of the said enterprises;
- (2) ESB: The ESB was created to promote economic reconstruction for stabilizing economic conditions with the following functions:
- A. Studying important measures related to currency, foreign exchange and foreign trade;
- B. Studying measures related to the control of commodity prices and adjustment of commodity supplies;

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- C. Studying and coordinating the employment of the U. S. aid and counterpart funds, and economic and military aid funds;
- D. Studying and adjusting matters of balancing budget and reform of taxation;

- E. Studying and adjusting matters of constructions in water conservancy and fishery;
- F. Planning, examining and revising economic reconstruction projects;
- G. Other matters related to economic reconstruction.

The ESB is composed of eleven to fifteen Members with the Premier as Chairman. The Members are appointed by the Executive Yuan, composing of the Ministers of Economic Affairs, Finance, National Defence and Communications, the Chairmen of FETCC, CUSA and JCRR. It is primarily a body of economic planning. It ceased to function this year.

(3) FETCC: As already indicated, the FETCC was created to exercise control over foreign exchange and trade. It formulates policy and plan for foreign exchange and foreign trade, screens applications for foreign exchange, coordinates with the U.S. aid, keeps in touch with the competent agencies of foreign trade, and takes care of other matters as instructed by the Executive Yuan.

The Members of the Commission are composed of the Minister of Finance, Minister of Economic Affairs, Secretary-General of CUSA, and representatives from other agencies.¹⁰

(4) JCRR: The JCRR is chiefly concerned with planning and administering rural recontruction to improve the standard of living of the peasants, increase the productivity of staple foods, develop the ability of the peasants to rehabilitate their communities, build up and strengthen the agricultural organizations, and foster rural leadership.

An economic plan affects inevitably industry, agriculture, mining, commerce, finance, national defence and the like. Therefore, the Ministry of Economic Affairs draws up an economic plan jointly with other agencies. As a rule, the plan goes through the regular channel to the Legislative Yuan for approval before it is administered.

Our economic policy is mainly a free economy. But our economic condition is such as not to permit unplanned development, because it is thought that an over-all planning for national economy reaps more benefit. Caution should however be taken against undue interference with the growth of private enterprises, and the uncontrolled laissez-faire economy.

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An economic policy is administered by the line departments, whose opinion

should be solicited in advance. In addition, the plan should be more feasible, if the agencies concerned can exercise greater latitude of discretion to work out the program planning for execution.

The extent to which a plan can be implemented with due efficiency depends also upon the calibre of the personnel. It is gratifying to note that many of the Chinese planners for economic development have held high academic degrees or have had years of experience in their special fields. In some cases foreign experts are also invited to take part in the work, such as the J. G. White Corporation and other foreign experts. The Government has also sent from time to time participants to foreign lands to observe and study the techniques.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and the ESB have their own research institutes. Their chief function is to supply the agencies to which they belong with the necessary data and materials and to submit reports of research. They are also the centers of disseminating technical information from abroad to help to prepare economic plans.

It is true that most peasants do not have the access to academic know-ledge, nor do they hold any college degree. But to the peasants these formal requirements are not essential. It is sufficient, if they know how to choose seeds, improve farming and prevent pests. In this connection, the 4-H Club and Training within Industry are partly responsible for the training programs to attain these objectives.

Research institutes are set up both within the government and the private organizations. Almost each government office has a unit collecting statistical data, preparing reports or publishing periodicals.

The following is a description of some of the industrial research institutes:

(1) The Joint Industrial Research Institute: The Institute is subordinate to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and has under it seven sections for organic chemistry, inorganic chemistry, agricultural chemistry, fuel, industrial implements, electrical engineering and engineering parts. The expenses of the Institute are shared by the leading industries. It will be self-supporting through the revenues of research. The Institute studies and explores the possibility of developing new industries from their products or by-products, plans for improving the method of production, answers technical questions and provides with technical reference materials.

- (2) The Taiwan Provincial Industrial Experiment Station: It is a branch office of the Department of Construction of the Provincial Government. The Station is composed of four sections of organic chemistry. It derives its financial support from the provincial treasury. Since 1954 its chief concern has been the testing of industrial products. It tests each month around thirty-six items of products with a total number of over one thousand articles.
- (3) The Sugar Experiment Station of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation: It was set up by the Corporation to study soil, fertilizer, sugar chemistry, ferment chemistry and cane-farming.
- (4) The High Voltage Research Institute: It was set up by the Taiwan Power Company to solve technical problems of the Company. With the high voltage equipment for experiment, it is capable of doing research in all problems related to power.

Many other institutes of similar nature are set up by the government industries in the fields, for instance, of alkali, aluminium, petroleum and the like, all are equipped with adequate laboratories.

The government economic agencies have kept in touch with interest organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, Society for the Promotion of Trade, and Industry and Farmers' Association, all of which are the regular channels through which the government economic policy and the opinions of the entrepreneurs are communicated.

In planning and execution, the Chinese theory of coordinating planning, execution and review merits our consideration. A planner has to grasp the variables under planning. In the course of execution the planner is kept informed of the progress so that his knowledge thereof is not far removed from the actual scene. It is then for the reviewer to appraise the result of execution. Reporting from the agency of execution and inspection on the spot are the methods often used in review. At the end of each year the agencies for planning and execution may call a joint meeting, in which the officers from subordinate offices may also participate, to review the past accomplishments for improvement later. In this way, planning, execution and review are so knit together as to be able to accomplish the desired efficiency.

The President's Office set up in 1958 an Administrative Reform Committee to study the ways and means to promote administrative efficiency. The Committee was asked to submit within six months recommendations for

reform.

6. FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank of China are the organs in charge of the Government financial administration, while the Department of Finance of a province or the Bureau of Finance of a special municipality is responsible only for financial administration within the province or the city. In the Ministry of Finance there is a Department of Monetary Affairs, which attends to planning for currency and banking, preparing financial laws and regulations, supervising the mint of coins, the print of notes, and the issue of currency and reserve, controlling the financial market, gold and foreign exchange, supervising banks, trust, insurance, cooperatives, and the issue of lottery, banning illegal financial transaction and other financial matters.

The Government financial policy has been:

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- (1) To improve the banking system, so as to make the banks more capable of improving the financial conditions;
- (2) To control the issue of currency to stabilize the currency value and to meet the demands for economic development
- (3) To adjust the rate of interest, strengthen credit management and financial organizations, and provide a proper outlet for the capitals for production;
 - (4) To simplify the exchange rates and encouragement of exports, and
 - (5) To cooperate with financial agencies at the international level.

The Ministry of Finance has endeavoured to take positive steps to attain these objectives in order to prevent inflation, balance revenues and expenditures and control the issue of banknotes of the New Taiwan Dollar, all of which have proved effective.

The government budget is compiled according to the law of Budget. An annual budget covers the fiscal year beginning from July 1 to June 30 of the next year. The government agencies throughout the country shall compile their respective estimates for the next year on the basis of the proposed plan for execution. The Ministry of Finance then proceeds to compile an overall estimate of revenues according to the itemized estimates of the government

agencies and the estimate of the Ministry. The Office of Accounting and Statistics prepares an annual budget which is founded upon the estimates of revenues and expenditures. The draft-of budget shall, according to law, be presented to the Executive Yuan for approval, before it is transmitted in March of each year to the Legislative Yuan for deliberation. It will be announced by the President of the Republic before June 15 of each year.

In recent years, the National Government has endeavoured to build up a system of budget and to balance the expenditures and the revenues to prevent price hike and inflation. In preparing a budget, the responsible officers will see to it that the central and local finances are subject to a unified control, and the financial needs and production are equally stressed.

Taxation and monopoly are the main sources of the national revenue. In the Ministry of Finance, Office of the Customs is responsible for customs administration, and the Office of the Customs Commissioner-General is in charge of customs duties and other related matters.

Tobacco and wine are placed under monopoly in Taiwan for a number of years. The Taiwan Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau is of considerable importance, so far as the size and revenue are concerned. It has seven tobacco factories and twelve brewery houses. The retailed stores affiliated with the Bureau are well over twenty thousands throughout the province.

As previously indicated, taxation and monopoly are the main sources of government revenues, which constitute the major part of the annual budget. The revenue is still going up. It is estimated that the revenue in 1957 rises about six times the revenue of 1950.

7. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

There are three levels of local government in the Republic of China, namely, the provincial and special municipality level, the hsien and municipality level, and the rural district and township level. With the exception of the province and special municipality whose creation rests with the decisions of the Executive Yuan and the Legislative Yuan respectively, the creation of the ordinary local units can be approved by their superior agencies. For example, the creation of a new hsien has to be approved by the provincial government. It is noted that when a local unit is proposed to be created, some conditions will be fulfilled: Take a special municipality for illustration, it has to meet either of the following conditions: (1) The national Capital, (2) Cities that have a population of 1,000,000 or more, and (3) Cities that possess special

political, economic or cultural significance.

The National Government has promulgated the basic law of local government which is named after the "General Rules Governing Provincial and Hsien Self-Government." The rights and duties of the citizens, self-government organization, finance and supervision are all provided in the General Rules.

In the Chinese Constitution there is a chapter on local government which provides for four local units, namely, hsien, municipality, special municipality and province.¹¹

The magistrate of a hsien or a municipality and chief of a rural district or a township are all elected by popular vote. Each has a council as a deliberative body. The magistrate of a hsien or a municipality holds his office for a term of three years. He is subject to re-election for another term of three years. A candidate for magistrateship shall be a citizen over thirty years old and meet the following requirements:

- (1) Having passed the Examination for Magistrates or the High Examination;
 - (2) Having previously served as mayor or magistrate;
 - (3) Having graduated from college at home or abroad, or
- (4) Having passed the General Examination and having been in administrative service for over three years.

A rural district or township government is headed by a chief who is elected to his office for a term of three years. He shall be a citizen over 25 years of age and shall possess the following qualifications:

- (1) Having passed the General Examination;
- (2) Having been chief of township or rural district, or
- (3) Having passed the Examination for Chief of Rural District or Township.

The council of a hsien or a municipality is composed of elected members, with every 10,000 population to elect one member. However, the council of each hsien or municipality shall elect not less than 15 members. The candidate for councilorship shall be over 23 years of age.

The deliberative body of a rural district or a township is named Hsiang (or Cheng) Representative Conference, composed of elected representatives of a

village or a precinct with one representative from each village or precinct. The representatives hold their offices for a term of three years.

The government of hsien, city, township, or rural district has its own finance. The sources of the hsien revenue are chiefly drawn from the following items: (1) tax from increment in land values or household levy; (2) contract tax: (3) slaughter tax; (4) license tax; (5) restaurant and recreation taxes; (6) income tax; (7) inheritance tax; (8) stamp tax: (9) business tax, and (10) land tax.¹³ The important expenditures of hsien and municipality are (1) economic reconstruction; (2) education, science and culture; (3) public health; (4) civil affairs, and (5) social welfare.

The sources of revenues and expenditures of a rural district and a township are similar to that of a hsien and a city.

The Chinese local governments carry out self-government activities and perform such duties as are delegated by their superior agencies. Self-government activities cover the following fields: (1) Mapping out self-government activities of a hsien or a municipality; (2) Direction and supervision of selfgovernment of a rural district or a township; (3) Administration of elementary education, vocational education, social education and secondary education, (4) Administration of public health and construction; (5) Administration of communication, water conservancy, agriculture, forestry and fishery; (6) Administration of public utilities and enterprises of a hsien or a municipality; (7) Administration of enterprises; (8) Administration of industrial and business activities; (9) Administration of the hsien or municipal finance, taxes and debts; (10) Operation of the hsien or municipal banks; (11) Management of the hsien or municipal properties, (12) Maintenance of the hsien or municipal police or guards; (13) Administration of the hsien or municipal welfare and prevention of natural calamities; (14) Administration of joint enterprises with the neighbouring hsiens or cities and (15) Preservation of cultural and historical heritage.14 The activities of the hsien or municipal government pursuant to the instructions of the superior organs are difficult of enumeration. Except for matters which the Constitution expressly reserves to the central government, both the central and the provincial governments may delegate authority to the hsien or municipal government for administration.15

The self-government activities of a rural district or a township are similar to those of a hsien or a city, but in a miniature pattern.

Local government has existed in China over two thousand two hundred years. But local self-government was developed belatedly only about thirty years

ago. Many thorny problems remain to be tackled. For instance, the revenues of a hsien, city, rural district or township are often not sufficient to cover the expenses for local contruction, and also it is difficult to delimit the jurisdictional powers of the different levels of government. Training for public functionaries at the various levels of local government goes on rather slowly for financial reasons.

Judging from the foregoing contour, it is not difficult to imagine that the National Government has laid a good framework for further development of local government, and yet impediments are in the way, which need both tact and courage to overcome. For the time being, economic reconstruction and a higher standard of living are the major programs which call for immediate attention. The land reform program and the first Four Years' Economic Plan all demonstrate that the local government sectors in China have made remarkable contributions in that direction.

NOTES

- (1) Article 50 of the Constitution of the Republic of China. The Constitution came into force on December 25, 1946.
- (2) The Selected Appointment Rank is, according to the Chinese Law of Appointment, the highest rank which a Chinese civil servant may hold. It consists of three steps, of which each is sub-divided into three grades, i. e. from the lowest ninth grade to the highest first grade. See Art. 14, the Law of Appointment, and Art. 13, the Rules of Application of the Law of Appointment.
- (3) Article 57, para. 2 of the Constitution provides, "If the Legislative Yuan does not concur in any important policy of the Executive Yuan, it may, by resolution, request the Executive Yuan to alter such a policy.
- (4) Article 4 of the Standardized Law Governing the Enactment of Laws and Regulations (promulgated on November 23, 1951)
- (5) Article 16, 31 of the Rules Governing Proceedings of the Legislative
- (6) Articles 32, 33, 34, 35, ibid
- (7) Articles 36, 37, 38 ibid
- (8) China Handbook, 1956-57, P. 78
- (9) Article 9, Law of Nationality of the Republic of China, promulgated and enforced on February 5, 1929

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- (10) Article 3, the Organic Rules of the Foreign Exchange Trade Control Commission, the Executive Yuan (amended on March 20, 1958)
- (11) Chapter 11, the Chinese Constitution, op. cit. supra
- (12) Art, 14, Elementary Rules Governing the Enforcement of Local Self-Government of the Hsien and Cities in Taiwan, promulgated on Nov. 4, 1955
- (13) Article 38 ibid
- (14) Article 12, ibid
- (15) Article 111, 127 of the Chinese Constitution, op. cit. supra

Chinese Labour in the Transvaal, 1904-1907

By Shee Sung (宋 晞)

I. THE SHORTAGE OF NATIVE LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA AFTER THE BOER WAR (1899-1902)

As early as the seventeenth century the Dutch colonists suffered from a scarcity of labour and introduced slaves from India to supply the demand. It is recorded that both Native and Indian slaves were detained in service until 1833, when slavery was forbidden. Since then the labour difficulty has arisen in its modern form.

The scarcity of labour was first felt by the farmers of Natal, since Natal was agricultural and required principally seasonal labourers, especially at harvesting and planting time. The native was wholly unsuited to supply this demand, because he would work only when compelled to do so in order to get food. For this reason, at harvest time when food was plentiful, the supply of labour was totally inadequate. The natives, therefore, in spite of their large numbers—more than 800,000—could not supply the labour needs of a white population of less than 100,000. After the farmers had sought in vain to educate the natives to the point of being able to perform seasonal labour with regularity and reliability, they were compelled to introduce Indian coolies for their labour supply. Up to the year 1907 about 100,000 Indian coolies had been introduced into Natal under indenture.1 The Indians, however, became merchants and artisans as soon as their indentures expired; for this reason a new supply was always required to perform unskilled labour. The short term of service rendered by the Indian coolies in the performance of unskilled labour made their employment unprofitable. The farmers, unable to get satisfactory results in the use of Indians, turned their attention again to the natives with no better outcome than before.

Although the labour problem appeared in its modern form in 1833, it did not develop in its more serious aspects until the discovery of the diamond mines in Rhodesia in 1870, and gold mines in the Transvaal in 1889. The development of the diamond industry proceeded without much labour difficulty

^{1 &}quot;Natal and Native Labour," The Economist, December 14, 1907.

until the discovery of gold. The discovery and development of the gold mines put new energy into every other industry in South Africa, especially in the Transvaal. Not only was there a great demand for labour in the mines, but also an ever greater demand in other industries which were operated in connection with mining activities. There resulted such a scarcity that all the managers combined in their efforts to secure labourers. They were, however, unsuccessful. The labour situation in Cape Colony became so serious that an appeal was made to the government. In 1890, the governor responded by appionting a Select Committee to investigate labour conditions. The Committee in its report to the governor of the colony discussed this scarcity and noted that the cause of the pressure was the fact that the natives had been drawn to the Transvaal to work in the mines.²

Nothing practical appears to have followed the recommendations of this Committee, for in 1893 a Commission known as the "Labour Commission" was appointed by the Cape Government. This commission, after careful work in collecting a great amount of material, reported that "a want of available farm labour is acutely and increasingly felt in the Western District; the supplies of other labour within the same area are not adequate, and the supply of female domestic servants is insufficient. It is instructive to note the feeling prevailing at that time in regard to use of Asiatics: "The commission is strongly opposed to the introduction of Asiatics, and it is not probable that any will be introduced; further discordant elements in the population are not to be desired. This commission does not go beyond a mere report of conditions, and there is still no systematic plan promulgated.

A still more serious effort was made in the Transvaal at the time of the discovery of gold mines on the Witwatersrand in 1889, by the establishment of

² The Committee appointed for the investigation was composed of Sir James Siverwright, Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, and six other citizens (Roses Innes, Beyers, Louw, Faure, Marsis, and Colonel Schermbrucker). It sought, first, to determine the extent of the scarcity of labourers; and second, to ascertain what measures could be taken to remove the causes of the scarcity. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1894, p. 7.

³ It was composed of six members of the Cape Parliament chosen by the governor, who were A. J. Heerheldt (chairman), M. L. Neething, J. M. Orpen, T. P. Theron, A. Douglass, I. J. Van Der Walt. Ibid.

⁴ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1896, p. 5.

⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

the Chamber of Mines. Among its principal activities was that of providing labourers directly for the mines. The complaints addressed to it on the question of the scarcity of labourers for the mines began with the first meeting and continued without interruption. The first annual report of the Chamber says: "The reports from the different mines of the difficulty of securing and retaining a sufficient number of Kaffirs to carry on the work of the farms and mines are constantly growing more numerous and urgent. There can be no doubt that the supply of Kaffirs at present is totally inadequate; and this most difficult question has been engaging the serious attention of the Chamber." This scarcity of labourers led to such competition among the managers of the mines that the resultting high wages consumed the profits of the industry. In 1890 the Chamber turned to the government in the hope of securing assistance. When it received no help from that quarter, it created a special standing committee of its own members to institute extraordinary measures to relieve the conditions. Later in 1891 the Chamber made an appeal to the Volksraad but received no encouragement. The Chamber, therefore, unable to elicit the interest of the state authorities, instituted new methods of recruiting which it followed without success until 1896. Recognizing again, and this time fully, the futility of its own efforts, the Chamber appealed directly to the government for assistance, insisting that the mines were greatly hindered in their development by the inadequate labour supply. At the same time the Minister of Mines was addressed in similar terms. The government now acted by issuing orders to all officials governing natives that all possible help should be given the employers in trying to secure labourers; and it began on its own

⁶ It was a private corporation of employers, organized, according to its provisions, "to advance, promote, and protect the mining interests of the Transvaal by the consideration and discussion of all questions connected therewith or incidental thereto, and by the creation and circulation of statistics and information relative thereto, or calculated to be of value or service to such interests, as well as all other means which may from time to time seem advisable." The members are divided into three classes as follows: (1) ordinary members, i.e., any limited liability company or syndicate, owning Transvaal mining property; (2) extraordinary members, i.e., similar companies outside the Transvaal; (3) honorary members, i.e., all persons interested directly or indirectly in the industry and who will pay an entrance fee. The membership was composed largely of the first class, very few of the third class. (Introduction to the Annual Report of the Chamber of Mines, 1890),

⁷ Recruiting agents, locally known as "touts," went out among the Natives and induced them in any way possible to engage for labour in the mines. As they were often secured through misrepresentation, they were dissatisfied with the work of the mines, and caused trouble to managers by running away. These "touts" sold the recruited labourers to the mine that would pay the highest price, and thus encouraged competition and also increased the cost of the labour. The increase did not by any means all go to the Natives.

part to investigate methods of improving the supply. All efforts were, however, fruitless and the difficulty remained unsolved.

At this juncture the employers proposed to the standing committee the introduction of Chinese coolies on the ground that they had proved themselves good and cheap labourers in Australia. The committee was so hostile to the suggestion that it gave the proposition no consideration whatever. The attitude makes clear the fact that there was great antipathy to the introduction of Asiatic labourers even among the members of the Chamber at this time, not long before the introduction of the coolies. The committee continued its effort to secure native labourers, and in 1898 began a new and fuller investigation than had been attempted before. The committee believed that the method of securing the native labourers was inadequate and recommended that strenuous efforts be made to find means of reaching the supply. It recognized the importance of the labour problem and estimated that the expenses for labour at that time amounted to from 50 to 60 per cent of the whole cost of production.8 It felt also that dividends must be increased by reducing the cost of labour, which had gradually increased under competitive methods of recruiting.9

The history of the labour difficulty shows competition among the employers themselves on the one hand, and between the employers and the farmers on the other hand. The Boer government was not enough interested in the mines which were conducted with foreign capital to concern itself seriously with the question. First, the Boers did not welcome English economic power in the Transvaal; second, the development of agriculture was still of great importance. In the midst of the heated discussion between the Boer authorities and the English mine owners and operators, the whole industry was brought to a standstill by the opening of the Boer War in 1899. Very little was attempted until the year 1903, after its close and after sufficient time had elapsed for the difficulties growing out of it to be settled. In that year The Chamber called into existence the Native Labour Association. This organization was composed of a body of employers under the direction of a superintendent. All were acquainted with the lives and habits of the natives. They searched out the unemployed natives and tried to induce them to work in the mines. After the Chamber created this organization, they put all recruiting in the hands of the organization, and the natives on arriving on the Rand were assigned by an

⁸ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1894, p. 12.

⁹ Annual Report of the Chamber of Mines, 1898, pp. 4-5.

official of the organization to one of the mines. 10 But the scarcity of the labour supply was still unsolved.

In examining the labour conditions in the Transvaal, we can not leave out of account the situation outside the Transvaal. The total population of South Africa in 1903 was 6,326,511, and of Central Africa was 7,271,180.11

South Africa

Cape Colony	1,652,036
Natal	791,010
Orange River Colony	129,787
Southern Rhodesia	563,271
German Southwest Africa	300,000
Bechuanaland Protectorate	147,000
Swaziland	60,000
Basutoland	262,561
Transvaal	605,666
Portuguese East Africa, Southern Provinces	1,815,180
Total	6,326,511

Ceutral Africa

Northern Rhodesia	556,000
British Central Africa	900,000
Uganda Protectorate	4,000,000
Portugese East Africa, Northern Provinces	1,815,180
Total	7,271,180
Grand Total	13,597,691

Sir Godfrey Lagden, Transvaal Labour commissioner, calculated that one native in every eight to ten of the whole native population was capable of working in the mines.¹² The statistics for 1903 show that only one in every eleven natives living in the Transvaal was working at all; one in twenty-five

¹⁰ The plan of recruiting was now materially changed. Men were sent out to recruit, and the assignments made to the different mines prevented further competition between different employers. E. George Payne, An Experiment in Alien Labor, (Chicago, 1912), pp. 14-5.

¹¹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1896, pp. 58-9.

¹² Ibid.

was at work in the mines. 18

In 1903 the need of labourers in the mines was keenly felt, as a statement of the condition of the mines at that time will show. In 1899 the employers of the Rand district operated 6,240 stamps¹⁴ with 111,697 native labourers, while in 1903 they were operating only 3,724 stamps out of a total 7,145 stamps ready for operation. They estimated the requirement at 5,612 whites and 117,173 natives to put into operation all of the mines then ready. This does not include new mines, nor the extension of the industry into territory ready for development. 15

Up to the time of the war, despite the many investigations into the native labour supply, there had been no complete examination covering the whole country. Investigations had been made for the employers, for the farmers, and for the different governments, but there had not been a comprehensive examination of the labour supply from the viewpoint of the needs of the industries throughout English Africa. The investigations of native labour now assumed a broader basis, and we have findings of two unimpeachable authorities. The first of these, on March 19, 1903, the Bloemfontein Conference, which was attended by delegates from all the South African colonies in addition to missionaries, traders, and native officials, practically all persons whose opinions on native affairs were entitled to consideration. The conference passed a resolution affirming that the opening of new sources of labour supply was essential to the well-being of South Africa. In its report, 16 we find:

The calculations which have been made show an estimated constant demand of 782,000, and an estimated continuous supply of 474,472, showing a shortfall of 307,528 labourers.

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises, how in South African agriculture or any industry is carried on? The answer is that when carried on at all, it is carried on under difficulties, as to which there is abundant evidence. The British South African aboriginal Native has not fully met the labour requirements of the country. There is no doubt that were these Natives alone to be relied upon, South African

¹³ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1894, p. 37.

¹⁴ This is a unit of working groups in the gold mines. In each group that the labourers use a machine which made by the heavy piece of iron or the like, as in a stamp mill, for droping or crushing mine.

¹⁵ Payne, of. cit., p. 18.

¹⁶ Creat Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2399, p. 57.

industries could at present only be worked at half power. Native labour has had to be supplemented by the employment of Africans imported from other parts of Africa, Indians, and Chinese.

The second authority, the Transvaal Labour Commission, was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of that colony in July 1903, and the area of its enquiries, with the one exception of the railways common to the two new colonies, was confined to the Transvaal. The Majority Report, 17 dated November 19, 1903, found that the labour requirements of the several industries, and the respective deficiencies in each case, were as follows: 18

Occupation	Estimated No. Required	No. at Work	Shortage
Agriculture	80,000	27,715	52,285
Mines	197,644	68,280	129,364
Other industries	69,684	69,684	No data
Railways_			obtainable
a) Repair work	16,000	12,402	3,598
b) New work	40,000	3,848	36,152
Total	403,328	181,939	221,399

The main points contained in the conclusion of the majority report were as follows:

- (1) That the demand for native labour for agriculture in the Transvaal is largely in excess of the present supply, and as the development of the country proceeds this demand will greatly increase.
- (2) That the demand for native labour for the Transvaal mining industry is in excess of the present supply by about 129,000 labourers; and, whilst no complete data of the future requirements of the whole industry are obtainable, it is estimated that the mines of the Witwatersrand alone will require, within the next five years, an additional supply of 196,000 labourers.

¹⁷ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1894, p. 1-42, which signed by A. Machie Niven (chairman), J. Donaldson, W. Leslie Daniel, G. H. Gogh, Jno. W. Philip, George Farrar, J. C. Brink, Samuel Evans, E. Perrow, and C. F. B. Tainton. General Botha and other representative Boers gave evidence as to the extent in which the agricultural industries were injured by the difficulty in obtaining native labour.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 18-9.

- (3) That the demand for native labour for other Transvaal industries, including railways, is greatly in excess of the present supply, and will increase concurrently with the advancement of mining and agriculture.
- (4) That there is no adequate supply of labour in Central and Southern Africa to meet the above requirements.

As against this finding, the Minority Report, signed by two¹⁹ out of twelve members of the Commission, estimated the total requirements at 259,950, and the shortage at 78,000. The conclusion of the minority report states:

- (1) That there is sufficient labour in Central and Southern Africa for present requirement, although effort will be required to obtain it.
- (2) That the present so-called shortage in the Transvaal is largely due to temporary and preventible causes.
- (3) That, understanding future requirements to mean such as, if satisfied, will benefit the country as a whole, we consider there is also sufficient labour in the territories named above for future requirements.
- (4) That in many ways the supply of native labour can be supplemented and superseded by white labour.

Whereas the majority of ten found that there was "no adequate supply labour in Central and Southern Africa to meet" the requirements of the Transvaal industries, the minority of two placed on record their belief that there was sufficient labour in Central and Southern Africa if efforts were made to obtain it, and that native labour could be supplemented and superseded by the labour of whites. After nearly two years of patient research, it completely confirmed the findings of the Majority Report of the Transvaal Labour Commission as to the great numerical deficiency of African labour and its complete inability to meet the needs of South Africa at this time:

II. THE REASON FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF CHINESE LABOUR

In the preceding chapter we have followed the history of the labour difficulties and have noted the supply and demand. We must now examine more clearly the reasons for the inadequacy of the native supply.

In the first place there were a number of temporary conditions producing idleness among the natives, among which were the effect of the Boer War,

A ... 141 1. 14.

¹⁹ Messrs Quinn and Whiteside.

and the reduction of the natives' wages by the mine employers, the average rate of wages having fallen from 47s. ld., the figure before the war, to 30s. per month. The object in view in this reduction was not merely to reduce working expenses, but to increase the efficiency of the workman by making it necessary for them to stay longer than they had usually done hitherto, in order to save the amount they desired to accumulate before returning to their kraals.

Because these conditions were temporary, they were not very significant, for a systematic effort to remove them brought about satisfactory results in a reasonable period of time. During the year 1902 the average wages remained at this figure; but when, after seven months of peace, it became evident that the demand for native labour throughout South Africa was altogether in excess of the available supply, the gold industry in self-defence was compelled to return to the pre-war rate of 47s. ld. . Four months later this rate was exceeded, and at the close of 1903 the mines were not only paying the African native an average wage of 54s. per month, but at the same time better food improved accommodation, had been provided under the British regime, was costing 15s. instead of 8s. 10d. per month.²⁰ The employers abandoned very rapidly the lower-wage policy, for they came to realize they had to depend upon the natives for labor, however inadquate this source might be.

The more important reasons for the scarcity of labour are those of a permanent nature, namely the habits of life, the customs, and the character of the natives. The character of the native was the chief cause of the labour difficulty. His necessities of life-food and clothing were exceedingly simple. His wants were few, even when he lived among civilized people. He considered only the present and the things of the day. If he was secure against hunger and cold-in many parts of Africa against hunger only-he left his work and sought the satisfaction of his crude desires, usually in those things which were most injurious to himself, especially in alcoholic drinks. He did not understand how to provide for the future; therefore he made little effort to acquire valuable property, even where he had the advantages of civilization. For instance, natives had sold their cattle to the army at high prices; they had made money in many ways during the Boer War, and so they were not compelled to work for their daily food. High wages attracted them to the mines, but so long as the money lasted that they had made during the War, they would not take to mining. Many of them were able to settle on the land, and Johannesburg had no attractions for them.

On the other hand, these African labourers, it must be remembered, did

²⁰ William Basil Worsfold, The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner, (London, 1913), I, 271.

not work year-in and year-out for a long time; they engaged themselves for a period of months only—in case of the gold mines from six to twelve months—and, when this period of service was completed, they returned to their families. Here they remained until the desire for more money, or possibly in some cases the attraction of a town life, induced them to enlist for another term of service.²¹

There was another cause which was still more effective in leading the native to avoid work in the mines—the danger inherent in mining, as shown in the high death-rate among the natives. The new climatic conditions and the change in the mode of living, as well as the inability of the native to care for himself under such conditions, raised the death-rate to an alarming figure. The accompanying table shows the actual condition of native mortality from 1903-1907.²²

Month	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
January	61	69	42.23	44.5	31.3
February	45	47	36.69	33.0	28.2
March	49	54	36.44	31.0	29.1
April	52	54	33.32	28.9	31.0
May	79	85	42.05	30.5	34.7
June	88	97	51.92	31.0	32.9
July	112	113	49.86	29.8	34.0
August	78	88	43.47	26.3	33.7
September	69	79	36.00	28.9	26.3
October	65	76	39.19	33.9	27.1
November	79	87	50.02	30.6	24.6
December	78	90	50.41	* 29.6	28.4
No. per 1,000 per year	71.25	78	42.59	31.5	30,1

The labourer had a very limited understanding of health requirements, and learned them so slowly that there was little hope of reducing the deathrate. In 1903 the health conditions in the mines and compounds were wretch-

²¹ The evidence of this statement will be found in Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1894, pp. 33--37.

²² Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2025, p. 45; Cd. 30.5, p. 6; Cd. 3528, p. 131; and Annual Report of the Chamber of Mines, 1904, p. 46. The number of deaths from sickness among the Chinese in the mines was 11 per 1,000, and Whites 14 per 1,000.

ed. An awakened public conscience in England and in South Africa required improvements, and in 1907 the death-rate had been reduced as much as lay in the power of the mine operators and public health authorities. There was a decrease from 71.25 deaths per 1,000 labourers in 1903 to 30.1 in 1907, but there was a limit beyond which the number could not be decreased, and this limit was still partly prohibitive.

Finally, the recruiting of native labour was refused by the countries in Africa. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, strengthened by the appointment of Mr. F. Ferry 23 made renewed endeavours to obtain a supply of African labour from countries as yet excluded from the area of its recruiting operations. The countries in which negotiations and enquiries were set on foot for this purpose during the years 1902 and 1903 were the British West African Colonies, British East Africa, including Uganda, German East Africa, Portuguese West Africa, the Congo Free State, Egypt, Madagascar, Somaliland and Abyssinia, Rhodesia, German West Africa, and British Central Africa. With the exception of the three last named, in all these countries either permission to recruit was definitely refused, or it was reported that the surplus labour, if existent, was unsuitable on physical 24 or other grounds for work on the mines of the Rand. The British Government refused to allow recruiting in the West African Colonies and in British East Africa, on the ground that these colonies had not enough labour for their own requirements, and in particular Mr. Chamberlain pointed out (under date April 3, 1903) that the government had been compelled to import Indian coolies to construct the Uganda railway. The Government of German East Africa and of Portuguese West Africa refused on the same ground, while the Congo Free State and the French Congo notified the British Consul, through whom the enquiries were made, that the departure of natives was prohibited on account of the prevailing death-rate in their territories. Lord Cromer based his refusal to allow the Association to recruit from the Egyptian fellaheen on the grounds that labour was scarce in Egypt, and that "he had been obliged to import labour to complete the building of the Soudanese railways." Madagascar and Abyssinia required all the labour they could produce for their own purposes, and the Somalis, even if procurable -- about which there was considerable doubt -- were stated to be "lazy, rebellious, and totally unfit for work on the Rand."

Rhodesia, owing to the industrial depression in which Southern Rhodesia was plunged in 1904-5, subsequently furnished an appreciable contingent of

²³ Mr. Perry gave up the Imperial Secretaryship on January 31, 1903, to become chairman of the W.N.L.A.

²⁴ The native of the tropical areas could not sustain the cold the Witwatersrand upland in winter time.

African labourers for the Transvaal mines; but for the immediate present the sole practical results obtained from this effort to secure fresh supplies of labour from other parts of Africa was the permission to recruit 1,000 natives in German West Africa, and an experimental contingent of the same number from British Central Africa. In point of fact the Association was able in 1904 to distribute 2,362 labourers from Rhodesia, having obtained none in the previous year, while it secured 1,190 natives from British Central Africa, as against 941 in 1903, but only 298 from German South West Africa, as against 620 in 1903. 25

The employment of whites as unskilled labourers in the mines would have been the ideal solution of the labour problem, and would still have been best for South Africa, if whites could have been used with profit to the mines without serious social dangers. But they could not, because there were economic reasons operating against the employment of whites.

It was important that South Africa increase its white population as rapidly as possible, but it was more important to maintain a high standard of living among the whites. Serious social dangers would have followed the introduction of a low class of European whites to supply the labour demand. Cavaliere Rossi of the Emigration Department of the Italian Government went out in 1903 in connection with a project to introduce Italian unskilled labour. This failed to materialize. There was also an offer, in August, 1903, to supply 25,-000 to 30,000 Hungarian labourers to the mines, for food, quarters, and 4s. per day. Proposals were received by the Executive Committee of the Chamber of Mines with regard to the recruitment of Finns, Italians, Serbians, and Russians; but the Chamber of Mines very wisely rejected all these suggestions, for it was felt undesirable to have large bodies of white men working for wages little, if any, superior to those earned by blacks.26 Meanwhile, there were other causes which rendered impossible the employment of white men, except as skilled workmen and overseers. The main reason was that the white man, under racial segregation, would not work as a labourer side by side with the Kaffir. During the year 1904 the total number of white unskilled labourers engaged by a group of ten mines-Glen Deep, Rose Deep, Geldenhuis Deep, Jumpers Deep, Nourse Deep, South Nourse, Ferreira Deep, Crown Deep, Langlaagte Deep, and Durban Deep-was 5,818, but the average number working dur-

²⁵ Evidence for the above statements will be found in Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1894, pp. 23-29.

^{26.} Hedley A. Chilvers, Out of the Crucible: being the Romantic story of the Witwatersrand Goldfields: and of the Great City which arose in their milst. (Johannesburg, 1948)., p. 163.

ing the year was only 474.27 This disparity is to be explained by the reluctance of white labourers to work steadily at employment they thought fit only for natives. This is borne out by the Report of the Government Mining Engineers.28

The employment of unskilled whites has had a fair trial, and has, generally speaking, proved unsatisfactory. The disadvantages of the unskilled white labour are as follows:

- 1. This class of whites cannot be relied upon to work for any continuous length of time. They throw up their employment at short notice, and disorganize the general work of the mine.
- 2. The majority take to this employment as a stop-gap, and cannot, or will not, do the necessary amount of steady work to successfully complete with coloured labour.

On the economic side, the whole of the development of South African industry was inseparable from a cheap labour supply. An immediate change to high-priced labour would have entailed serious consequences to all industries, especially mining. Cheap labour was essential for the mines from the simple fact that only the richest mines could be worked with high-priced labour, and the number of rich mines was very limited.

During 1904 the mines of the Witwatersrand worked 8,063,577 tons of reef, producing 3,643,254 ounces of gold, worth £15,496,798. The cost of working was £9,824,133, leaving a gross profit of £5,672,665, or 14s. 0.8d. per ton. The amount paid in dividends was £3,877,623. The total sum paid in wages amounted to £5,993,135, being 61 per cent of the total cost of working, of which £3,822,332, or 64 per cent, were paid to 12,957 white men, and £2,170,803, or 36 per cent were paid to 70,032 Kaffirs and Chinese. There were actually 76,473 of the latter employed, but the smaller figure represents the average number of men continuously at work.

The white men (including 1,038 unskilled white men working as manual labourers) averaged £295 each, and the coloured men £30, 19s. 6d. The cost of food and other compound expenses, as well as the cost of securing Kaffir

²⁷ Lionel Phillips, Transmal Problems, (London, 1905) p. 61, and p. 267-9, Appendix A, a Memorandum written by R. Raine, The Manager of the Village Main Reef, Limited.

²⁸ Transvaal Mines Department: Annual Report of the Government Mining Engineer, for the year ending June 30, 1904.

and Chinese labour, and of repatriating the latter, amounted on the average to £15, 8s. per head, which must be added to the actual wages paid, bringing the total cost of the coloured men to £46, 7s. 6d.²⁹

The cost of using white men then was six times that of using coloured men. In 1904 the unskilled labour of 70,082 Kaffirs and Chinese cost £2,-170,813, or 36 per cent of the total paid in wages. The net profit was under £4,000,000. Assuming a substitution of white for black labourers, the cost would amount to £10,512,300, against a total cost of £3,333,073 for Kaffirs and Chinese. 30° So few in South Africa seriously suggested that white unskilled labour should be employed in the place of native labour.

The idea of supplying the labour demand of the Transvaal by means of Chinese labour was not new in 1903. During the years of struggle for a sufficient labour supply, such a suggestion had often been made, but no one had come forward to suggest a method by which Chinese might be employed. The agitation for employing this class of labourers had found no systematic support, and the recruiting suggestion met with such positive opposition that no general interest in the proposal had been aroused. At the close of the Boer War, when the Transvaal seemed ready for an unhindered development of its promising agricultural and enormous mineral resources—especially its gold mines—the labour problem was present in its acutest form. At this psychological moment, when everyone saw the need of labour and wished, for his own interests, as well as for the good of the community, that the development might proceed unhindered, the Transvaal government, at the initiative of the Chamber of Mines, determined to introduce Chinese labour for use exclusively in Witwatersrand mines.

The proposal of the Chamber and the government to introduce coolie labourers precipitated a spirited contest, which was waged during the few months in which a commission appointed by the governor of the colony was investigating the condition of the native labour supply, and while the Colonial Council was debating the terms of the ordinance under which the Chinese were to be introduced. Apparently every white inhabitant of the Transvaal took part in the discussion by expressing his approval or disapproval. The other South African colonies and even Australia took sides. The opposition was intense, not only among the white labourers in the mines, but also among the

²⁹ All the figures on the above pages are taken from the Report of the Government Mining Engineer and the Chamber of Mines Report. Also see Phillips, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

³⁰ Phillips, op. cit., p. 60.

people engaged in occupations other than mining.³¹ However, the need for more unskilled labour in the new colonies was urgent, and efforts to recruit it from whites and natives had clearly failed. These circumstances led both the chiefs of the mining industry and Lord Milner, the Governor of new colonies and High Commissioner of South Africa, to the conclusion that the only practicable method of obtaining the required supply of unskilled labour was the importation of Chinese labour.

Under this situation, Mr. Ross Skinner was commissioned by the Chamber of Mines to proceed to China to make inquiries as to fresh sources of supply. Reaching London on March 14, 1903, he obtained letters of introduction for use in California, British Columbia, Japan, the Malay peninsula, and China. He travelled across the United States, sailed down the China coast visiting all important towns, and made lightning inquiries in Japan, Singapore, and the Federated Malay States. He submitted the results of his investigations in a remarkable report, dated September 22, 1903. It suggested generally that a Chinese labour force could be recruited and would prove suitable for the Rand gold mines; that the objections to Chinese in other countries had arisen chiefly from the absence of provision for returning them to China at the end of their periods of engagement; that this oversight in those countries had enabled Chinese to stay on, to settle down, and to compete successfully with white men; but that if Chinese labour brought into the Transvaal were under definite obligation to return at the end of a given period, the only real objection to them as labourers would vanish. 82

III. THE IMPORTATION OF CHINESE LABOUR

After an exhaustive investigation, China was selected as the new source of labour supply. Lord Milner was consulted, and Sir George Farrar agreed to carry the subject to the people of the Transvaal. Henry O'Kelly Webber 33 wrote: "The first thing he did was to cable for me to leave by the first boat for Johannesburg. I went straight to the house he was occupying at the time, and he and I were shut up for three weeks concocting the speech he was to deliver." 34 It was decided to advertise that he would speak in the Recreation

³¹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1895, p. 337.

³² Chilvers, op. cit., p. 164.

³³ Sir George Farrar as a chairman of the Transvaal Legislative Council. Webber and Farrar were emigrants to South Africa from England, and became close friends. Henry O'kelly Webber, The Grip of Gold; A Life Story of A Dominion. (London, 1936), chap. VIII, "Farrar the Man."

³⁴ Webber, op. cit., p. 132.

Hall at the Drifontein Mine. As the tale was gradually unfolded, and the various restrictions on the libetry of the indentured labourers were enumerated, the meeting began to turn in his favor. He proposed that every skilled trade should be barred to the Chinese labourer. Everyone present listened attentively to hear his particular trade mentioned as being exempted. At the close of the meeting there was no one in the room prepared to vote against the introduction of the Chinese as unskilled labourers on the mines, provided they were repatriated on the termination of the period of their indentures. "The success of this meeting was entirely due to Farrar's magnetic personality," Webber writes. It was the signal for meetings at every mine, and at each meeting he met with the same success.

The next step was the introduction of a bill in Milner's first Transvaal Nominted Parliament, December 28 to 30, 1903. Webber spent two solid months preparing Farrar's speech introducing the Bill. It was also agreed that it would add much strength to the cause if a monster petition were signed and presented to the Parliament in Pretoria. Webber was placed in charge of this undertaking. Boers offered to obtain signatures. They said that the farmers were suffering from a shortage of native labourers, and would welcome the importation of the Chinese labourers for the mines when the conditions were clearly explained to them. At last the sheets containing over the signatures of over 47,000 men 35 were ready to be rolled on a handsome staff for presentation to Parliament. How did the Transvaal Parliament pass the Bill? Webber writes: 36

to the members of the House when they met at 2:30 that afternoon....I had just completed my work of rolling up the petition again on the stick when the Parliamentary sitting opened. The petition was brought into the House at 2:30 and laid on the table before the Clerk of the House. At this moment a diversion took place. Up jumped Mr. H. C. Hull, one of the nominated members. He asked for leave, before the honourable member proposed his motion for the introduction of Chinese labourers into the Transvaal, to state that he was 'authorized by the Dutch-speaking people of the Transvaal to say that they were entirely opposed to the proposition.' This was enough to make everyone smile, considering that the Boer leaders had emphatically declared that they were not, and did not want to be, represented in any Parliament nominated by Lord Milner:

George Farrar spoke until the adjounment for tea, when he beckoned

³⁵ This represented half the adult male population at that time.

³⁶ Webber, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

to me to come with him post-haste to General Louis Botha's house. We found Botha sitting on his stoep. Farrar asked him at once if he or any of the leaders of his people had authorized Hull to make the statement he had made in the name of the Boer population. Botha appeared to be horrified and declared that neither he nor any Boer leader had ever authorized Hull to protest, in the name of the Boer people, against the introduction of the Chinese. Farrar, while accepting this repudiation, pointed out that much harm would be done if Hull's statement were allowed to appear in the press. General Botha was very much upset. 'He shall withdraw the statement. I will go and find him at once. I will give you my word that he will withdraw it when the House resumes its sitting to-night. If you will find a seat I shall be there to hear him.' Farrar asked if Botha would authorize him to telephone to *The Star* office in Johannesburg, informing the editor that Mr. Hull would withdraw his statement at eight o'clock. Botha, after some thought, finally consented to this.

I was told to keep him a seat near the door in that part of the House reserved for strangers. He arrived, as arranged, at 8:00 p.m. to hear Hull's recantation and left immediately after.

The discussion on the bill lasted for many hours. Almost every member spoke. On the last day, December 30, 1903, it was carried by a majority of 18; the votes being 22 to 4.

Lord Milner's ³⁷ analysis of the division lists and his comments thereon were telegraphed four days later to the Secretary of State.

The unofficial members of the Legislative Council are really representative men, who have from the first shown themselves independent of Government, while sensitive to public opinion. Of these non-official members, 14 in number, 9 voted for the motion, while 4 voted against it, and 1 did not vote. Of the 9 supporters, 4 were Boer members, who all spoke as well as voted for the motion. The fifth Boer member took no part. Of the other 5 non-official supporters of the motion, 2 are mining men, 2 are leading men of business, and 1 is a British farmer who has lived in the country for years and possesses in an exceptional degree the confidence of both Dutch and British. Four of the 9 supporters are from Johannesburg, and the other 5 are from the districts of Heidelberg, Potchefstrom, Rustenburg, Carolina, and Zeerust; that is, from the most diverse parts of

³⁷ He had returned to Johannesburg on the December 19, 1903. The telegram is given in Great Britain, Parliamentary Pepers, Cd. 1895, p. 177. Mr. Alfred Lyttelton was then colonial Secretary.

the Transvaal. The minority was composed of 2 members from Pretoria and 2 from Johannesburg, all of British race.

One of the latter is a leading member of the Trade Council, and his vote, no doubt, reflects the feeling of a section of the working class, though not, I think, of the majority. On the contrary, there is every indication that the white miners are now preponderantly in favor of Asiatic labour, while the rest of the artisan class is divided. It is a strong minority of the working class generally, with a number of small traders and a few score of professional and commercial men, who at present constitute the active opposition amongst the public. But they are dwindling in numbers, and show nothing like their former keenness.

With regard to the Boer members of the Council it may, of course, be said that they only represent a section, as the most prominent of the Boers who fought to the end did not accept seats on the Council. But on the present question Boer opposition is not divided on at all the same lines as it was on the political question. The one Boer member of Council who belongs to the 'late surrender' class—and he is very typical of his fellows—supported the motion quite as strongly and on the same grounds as his colleagues who surrendered at an earlier stage of the war.

All the official members supported the motion, it being distinctly understood that they were absolutely free to vote according to their individual convictions. An attempt was made beforehand to discount them as out of touch with local feeling and lacking in experience of the country. As a matter of fact two of them are born South Africans, four others are permanent residents in the country, and the average residence of those not born in the country is seven years.

This vote represented only a small part of public opinion of the industrial population of the Transvaal, but an appeal to the white inhabitants of the colony as a whole would have produced a scarcely less decisive result. The resolutions in favor of the importation subsequently passed by public bodies afforded further, and in some respects even more emphatic, evidence of the same fact; but these subsequent expressions of opinion had a different object. They were designed to assure the people and Government of the United Kingdom, and the various British communities overseas, and not the Transvaal Administration, that the supply of unskilled labour from China was now recognized by the great majority of the people of the colony, both Dutch and British as an economic necessity.

On the following day, Lord Milner met Sir Arthur Lawley and the Executive Council in Conference, and the Transvaal Government finally decided, subject to the sanction of the Home Government, to make legislative provision for the importation of Asiatic indentured labour for the mines. The decision was reported to the Secretary of State in a telegram, which was despatched by Lord Milner, after further consultation and revision of the original draft of the Ordinance, on January 3, 1904. The draft Ordinance with full statements of the financial position of the colony was sent by mail on the next day.

Mr. Lyttelton made certain observations upon the original draft, and concluded:38

It will be necessary to ascertain the views of the Chinese Government in order that His Majesty's Government may be assured that that Government will accept its provisions as the basis of the regulations, which they desire to be drawn up in concert with the Chinese Ambassador in London.

This draft of the Ordinance was filled with specific restrictions. The following limitations forced upon the Chinese: (1) labourers were introduced under indenture; (2) the labourers were to be returned to China as soon as they could be supplanted by native labourers or as soon as machinery could be substituted; (3) they were limited to the mines and allowed to perform only unskilled labour in so far as their services were required to supplement the native labour supply in the mines.

In addition to these more general limitations, there were in the ordinance under which they were introduced specific restrictions as to their work in the mines. The character of these restrictions was determined by the experience of other nations in the use of Chinese, by the experience the employers had had with the natives, and by the possibility of resentment of the Chinese by residents of the colony. The restrictions of the Ordinance may be summarized as follows: (1) Both labourers and employers were subject to the statutes of the Transvaal colony, so far as there were not special provisions in the ordinance for the government, conduct, labour, and control of the Chinese in the mines. (2) The importers of the Chinese were to be their employers. Only employers in the Witwatersrand mines who had secured a special shipping license from the Transvaal authorities could import and employ Chinese. If employers assigned other labour to the coolies, they were to be heavily fined. The labourers were forbidden to follow any trade, to acquire any property, or to have an interest in any personal property or real estate, or to engage in any independent enter-

³⁸ Ibid., p. 230.

prise of any kind. (3) The labourers were limited to the mine premises, being permitted to leave only for a period of forty-eight hours and then only under special permit.

On February 4, 1904, the draft Ordinance was sent by Lord Lansdowne to the Chinese Minister, and on the 11th it was accepted by the latter, subject to certain alterations, as the basis of the Regulations, which he was authorized by his Government to draw up with Lord Lansdowne for the supervision and protection of the Chinese immigrants, as provided for in Article V of the Treaty of Pekin (1860).³⁹

On the 12th the Ordinance in its final form was forwarded by the colonial office to the Foreign Office for transmission to the Chinese Minister; and on the 15th the Colonial Office informed the Foreign Office that the Chinese Minister's suggested alterations had been telegraphed to Lord Milner, and intimated that, as any alterations of the kind required should be embodied in the Regulations, the proposed Conference of the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, and the Chinese Minister for the drawing up of these Regulations should meet at the earliest possible date. On the 20th Lord Milner telegraphed to Mr. Lyttelton that Mr. William Evans⁴⁰ had arrived in Johannesburg, and that he and the Attorney General (Sir Richard Solomon) would set to work upon the Regulations at once.

On the 23rd a summary of the Regulations was telegraphed to Mr. Lyttelton, who, on the 26th, authorized them to be prepared along the lines proposed. On the 27th the actual text of the Ordinance, together with a report of the proceedings in the Legislative Council reprinted from the Star, was re-

³⁹ The Chinese Government had been informed in the autumn, 1903 by the British Minister at Pekin that it was proposed to invite Chinese labour to serve in the Transvaal mines. Article V runs: "As soon as the ratifications of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China will, by Decree, command the high authorities of every province to proclaim throughout their jurisdictions, that Chinese choosing to take service in the British Colonies or other parts beyond the sea, are at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessel at any of the open ports of China; also that the high authorities aforesaid shall, in concert with Her Britannic Majesty's Representative in China, frame such Regulations for the protection of Chinese, emigrating, as above, as the circumstances of the different open ports may demand."

⁴⁰ Mr. Evans had been in China, as the representative of the mining industry, to make the necessary enquiries and arrangements for the recruiting and transport of the labourers. Later on, he became the Superintendent of Chinese Labour in the mines.

ceived by mail at the Colonial Office, and, in the course of the next few days, these and other documents were presented to Parliament.⁴¹

On March 5, the Colonial Office informed the Foreign Office that Mr. Lyttelton had been in touch with Lord Milner on the subject of the five points⁴³ raised by the Chinese Minister, and set out the result of those communications for Lord Lansdowne's information.

On the 7th Mr. Lyttelton asked Lord Milner to telegraph to him the text of the particular regulations which embodied his "pledges and requirements;" and this was done on the day following.

On the 9th Mr. Lyttelton, who had now the material contents of the Regulations before him, telegraphed that he was prepared to sanction the Ordinance subject to the fulfilment of two conditions. He must receive an assurance that Lord Milner was satisfied that the arrangements for the reception and accommodation of the immigrants could be completed in the interval between their embarkation in China and their arrival in the Transvaal. And Regulation 33, which provided that immigrants could bring their wives and

⁴¹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1941.

⁴² T. J. Chang, (張德森) Chinese Minister to London, who gave the following additions and alterations on the draft Ordinance:

⁽¹⁾ That the Consul or Consular Agent of the country of the immigrant shall have power to visit the mines and inspect the places prepared for the accommodation of the immigrants at all reasonable times, and to make representations to the authorities on the subject of any matter affecting the comfort and wellbeing of the immigrant which may appear to him necessary.

⁽²⁾ That in no case shall it be allowable for the employer or his servant to inflict corporal punishment on the immigrant, and that any violation of this provision shall be punishable at law as a common assault.

⁽³⁾ That the person styled "the importer" shall be a bona fide employer of labour, and not a mere dealer or speculator in labour; and that the transfer or assignment of the labourer to another employer shall only be made with the consent of the immigrant and the approval of the Consul or Consular Agent of his country. This is necessary in order to present the immigrant from being made a mere chattel or article of commerce.

⁽⁴⁾ That repatriation shall take place to the port of embarkation in the country of the immigrant, and not merely to his 'country of origin,' as provided in the Ordinance.

⁽⁵⁾ That the immigration shall be made only in British bottoms or ships of the nation to which the immigrant belongs, and under the Regulations instituted by the British Board of Trade for ships employed in carrying immigrants, Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers Cd. 1945, p. 4.

children with them, if they so desired, at the expense of the importing employer, had to be so amended as to provide further that any immigrant who had not brought his wife and family with him in the first instance, but who wished, after his arrival, to send for them, should have every facility for so doing, and that the employer should in this case also bear the cost of bringing the wives and children from China. On the 10th Lord Milner telegraphed that he could give the required assurances on both points. It would, however, be necessary, in order to prevent fraud, to require the married labourers to register the names and addresses of their wives and children before leaving China.

On the same day, a large deputation, composed of delegates from twenty-eight representative bodies and thirty-seven public meetings held on the mines, 48 waited on Lord Milner at the Wanderer's Hall for the purpose of protesting against the Home Government's delay in sanctioning the Ordinance and the misrepresentation to which that delay was so largely to be attributed. The composition and opinions of this deputation furnish information of the highest evidential value upon the two aspects of the Chinese labour controversy upon which correct knowledge is most material—the degree in which the people of the Transvaal themselves approved of the Importation Ordinance, and the light in which they themselves regarded the statements upon which the anti-Chinese agitation in England was based.

The significance of the attendance of the delegates from the mines lay in the fact that the meetings which had appointed them were public meetings of white workmen employed in the mines, and that these meetings covered practically the whole area of the gold industry on the Rand. These white workmen, who a year ago were bitterly opposed to the mere idea of Chinese imported labour, now by the speeches of their delegates protested in the strongest terms against the delay in giving effect to the Ordinance, and showed indignation at the slanderous statements current in England, which, as they considered, reflected upon themselves no less than upon any other section of the British in the Transvaal.

In this deputation, one of those working miners said: "The unanimous feeling of the mines in the district from which I come is for imported labour. It has been said that this is a capitalistic question, but I consider it is a working man's question. The working men are suffering enough from not being able to get work. We believe that if labourers can be brought from China

⁴³ The lists of the representative bodies and the scientific societies and associations of professional men sending delegates will be found in Worsfold, The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner, vol. 1, p. 349.

and the mines started, it will be a great deal better for all hands—for the working classes, not only on the mines but in the towns, for the farmer, and every one."

The mayor of Johannesburg, in introducing the deputation, read a telegram in which the Bishop of Pretoria, representing the Anglican Communion in the Transvaal, stated his regret at his inability to be present, and his belief that "the importation of unskilled Asiatic labour under Government regulations was the only solution of the present difficulties." Lord Milner, in his very brief reply, assured the deputation that he would not fail to report to the Secretary of State the terms of the resolution, and the substance of the speeches by which it had been supported. 45

The announcement of the royal assent did much to relieve the tension on the Rand, but before any labourers could be embarked it was necessary that the Chinese Government should approve the Regulations and authorize the Chinese Minister in London to sign the new Convention. The text of the Regulations was forwarded by mail on March 21, and reached the Colonial Office on April 9. Meanwhile, tension was heightened more by an outbreak of plague⁴⁶ and the opposition vote of censure.

Subsequently the Ordinance received the ratification of the British Government. It had the support of Lord Milner's strong recommendation. While communications were passing upon such matters—which included the most minute details of the dietary, medical attendance, and general accommodation to be provided for the Chinese labourers on the transports—Chinese Minister Chang Ta-jen and Lord Lansdowne signed the Convention on May 13, 1904.⁴⁷ Five days later Mr. Lyttelton was able to telegraph to Lord Milner that he was at last satisfied with the arrangements for the conveyance and reception of the immigrant labourers and that he was prepared to allow the Transvaal Government to take the responsibility of permitting their introduction in the spite of the plague. "You are, therefore, at liberty," he concluded, "to allow the embarkation from China and Hong Kong to take place, as soon as you are satisfied that all necessary preliminary conditions have been complied with." The ordinance came into operation on the following day, May 19, 1904.

⁴⁴ Worsfold, op. cit., vol. 1; pp. 348-9.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 350, 351.

⁴⁶ The official statement that cases of the bubonic plague had occurred in the Indian coolie location of Johannesburg was published in the Transvaal newspapers of Monday, March 21.

⁴⁷ The Convention will be found in Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd, 2246,

Even before the Emigration Convention, 1904, was signed, the Foreign Labour Department of the Transvaal Government had been established in Johannesburg under a Superintendent, Mr. Evans, as we mentioned above, late Protector of Chinese in the Straits Settlements. He was responsible to the Transvaal Government for the administration of the Ordinance and the working of the Department. Four inspectors, all speaking Southern Chinese dialects, were appointed to the Department for the supervision of the arrangements at the mines and the general treatment of the Labourers.

The Chinese were recruited for service in the mines by the Labour Importation Agency of the Chamber of Mines. This agency was subject to, and supervised by, the representatives of the Transvaal and Chinese governments.48 Hong Kong was the central depot in which all contracts were signed and from which all labourers were shipped during the first year. Mr. Cowen, a capable and experienced officer, supervised the shipping.49 As the labourers were secured principally from North China, the depot at Hong Kong was closed at the end of the first year, and the agency afterward recruited and shipped through Chifu (芝罘) and Chingwangtu (秦皇島).50 The duties of the government officials were to supervise the importation in order to enforce the provisions of the Ordinance; to see especially that the labourers understood its terms and entered into their contract after a thorough understanding of its provisions; and to see that the labourers were in no way forced to enter service in the Transvaal.51 The actual recruiting was the work of the agency's representatives. who were paid a definite sum for each Chinese labourer recruited. These representatives were required to have a license from the agent of the Transvaal government stationed in China, 52 but they acted to a large extent irresponsible; their chief aim was to get the labourer's consent to go, and there was no way of ascertaining whether they had done this by means of false representations or not. After inducing the labourer to enlist they would get him through his medical examination and have him sign his contract. They did not make inquiries about the character of the labourers they recruited; they rather sought those who would enlist with the least discussion and explanation. These agents obtained the aid of the Chinese in the process of recruiting, by inducing the heads of families or the leaders of the guilds to act as agents and solicitors for

⁴⁸ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2786, p. 25.

⁴⁹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2401, p. 81.

⁵⁰ In all, 4,480 labourers signed contracts at Chifu and 10,628 at Changwangtu. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 3338, p. 13.

⁵¹ Articles II, IV, VIII, of the Convention.

⁵² Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1941, p. 39.

them in engaging labourers.58

Preparations had been made also at Durban to receive the expected labourers. The Natal Government passed Ordinance No. 7 of 1904 to provide for their disembarkation and transit to the Rand, the Chamber of Mines having agreed to pay £1,000 per annum, through the Transvaal Government, for medical and police services. On the arrival of an emigrant vessel, it was to be the duty of the Boarding Officer, representative of the Transvaal Foreign Labour Department at Durban, to examine the certificate issued by the Transvaal Emigration Agent to the master of the ship and to make a general inspection. After the Port Health Officer, Immigration Restriction Officer (Natal) and an officer from the port Captain's Department had boarded the ship, the labourers, under the direction of the Boarding Officer, were to be disembarked, entrained at the ship's side and taken to the depot erected by the Chamber of Mines' agency five miles away. There registration would begin immediately, the labourer would be again examined as to the voluntary nature of the contract, his Government pass issued, and his finger-prints taken. Then the labourer would return to the compound to wait for the special train which would carry him to the premises on which he was to work. Once having arrived at the mines, the labourer would come under the immediate supervision of the Inspectors of the Foreign Labour Department.54

The contracts for a period of three years were signed as soon as the Ordinance came into force and on May 25, 1904, the emigrant vessel, S. S. Tweeddale, left Hong Kong with 1,054 labourers for the East Rand Proprietary Mines. Two of them absconded before leaving, and three died on the voyage. On July 2, the first contingent of Chinese, 600 in number began work in the New Comet Mine. In the last seven months of the year 1904, the gold industry employed an average of 9,668 indentured Chinese labourers; in 1905, 39,952. The largest number of Chinese labourers worked in the mines in January, 1907. Here is a table giving the number of Chinese labourers in mines from June, 1904 to December, 1907. 55

Month	1904	1905	1906	1907
January		27,222	47,166	53,856
February		31,424	50,000	53,764
March		34,335	49,922	53,679

⁵³ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers. Cd. 2786, p. 25.

⁵⁴ Persia Crawford Campbell, Chinase Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire. pp. 186-7.

⁵⁵ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 3528, pp. 182-183; Cd. 4120, p. 3,

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April		35,575	49,832	53,588
May		38,111	50,974	53,406
Tune	1,004	41,340	52,352	51,497
July	1,338	43,191	52,231	51,441
August	4,945	44,609	52,111	49,071
September	9,020	44,538	53,430	46,260
October	12,965	45,956	53,163	42,338
November	17,469	45,856	53,030	37,728
December	20,885	47,267	52,917	35,676

IV. THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHINESE LABOUR

The Anglo-Boer War had a serious effect on Johannesburg and the gold-fields. The mines closed down, and the staff were dismissed. As the war progressed, the great labour force had to be disbanded gradually, some of its members going back to their kraals, others adopting town life, but shedding the ways of the mines in many cases forever. This, of course, was disastrous for the mines. For when, after the war, the gold mines attempted to restart, the recruiters everywhere had to face the reluctance of the natives to return. While in August, 1899, before the war, 110 gold mining companies on the Rand had employed 111,697 natives, in July, 1903, they could only muster 55,507 natives. The unmber of rock-crushing gold stamps which could have been worked after the war was 7,145 of which 3,420 had to remain idle—in other words nearly half.⁵⁷

At the beginning of 1904, when Lord Milner saw that the Transvaal and Orange River Colony budgets were going to have a deficit of nearly seven hundred thousand pounds, he cabled to London for permission to introduce an ordinance to import Chinese labour. From the foregoing chapter it will be seen that the Chinese were restricted to very narrow limits, and yet were expected to prove efficient labourers. The immediate results of the additional labour supply obtained from China may be summarized in a few lines. At the end of March 1904, the number of Chinese at work on the Witwatersrand gold mines was nil; at the end of March 1905, when Lord Milner left South Africa, it was 34,335. At the former date the number of African natives employed was 78,825; at the later date it was 105,184. The output of gold for April 1904 was valued at £1,305,000; for the month of March it was valued at £1,699,991, or at annual rate of production of the value of £20,000,000. In March 1904 it was very doubtful whether the Transvaal Government would not have to seek financial assistance from the Parliament

⁵⁶ Chilvers, op. cit., p. 162.

of the United Kingdom to enable it to meet the expenditure of the current financial year; on June 30, 1905, when the next financial year ended, the Transvaal Treasurer announced a surplus of £347,000. 57

With the introduction of the coolies there was a remarkable increase in the output of the mines, as a comparison of the production of the years 1898 to 1907 shows. The year 1898 is chosen because then the mines reached the highest development possible with the use of whites and natives; in 1905 the mining industry had recovered from the effects of the war and was in full operation with Chinese, natives, and whites. 58

Gold Output of the Transvaal: Quantity, Value, and Dividends, 1898-1907

Year	C	Ounces Fine Gold	Value at £4.2477	Dividends
1898	5-2	3,823,367	16,240,630	7
1899		3,637,713	15,452,025	£2,946,358
1900		348,761	1,481,442	3.77 Selv
1901		258,032	1,096,051	415,814
1902		1,718,921	7,301,501	2,121,126
1903		2,972,897	12,628,057	3,345,502
1904		3,773,517	16,028,883	3,855,970
1905		4,909,541	20,854,440	4,754,349
1906		5,792,823	24,606,336	5,565,969
1907		6,450,740	27,400,992	6,922,420

Output of the Mines, 1898-190559

3, 1	1898	1905	Percentage of Increase
Mines of all kinds	164	298	63.41
Mine employees	100,098	177,312	77.15
Output of minerals	£16,955,000	£23,144,000	36.63

⁵⁷ Worsfold, op. cit., v. 1, pp. 366-7.

⁵⁸ Chilvers, op. cit., pp. 165-6. Transvaal Chamber of Mines, 37th Annual Report, 1926, pp. 96-7.

⁵⁹ The Transvaal government must be regarded as virtually a partner in the labour experiment. It was in the interest of the government as well as that of the mines that the Chinese were introduced. The source of this table will be found in Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 3528, p. 18.

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Chinese	C-1	***
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787	1,507		91.49
165.800	274,000		65.26
£282,753	£382,778		35.38
170	201		18.24
£85,820	£104,186		21.40
	165.800 £282,753 170	165.800 274,000 £282,753 £382,778 170 201	165.800 274,000 £282,753 £382,778 170 201

It can hardly be denied that the Chinese saved Johannesburg, the Rand, and South Africa. In order to understand the full significance of the development indicated by these figures, we should note a number of additional facts. The increase in the number of mines worked indicates not only the extension of the industry, but also that the mines of less value could be worked profitably. Likewise the increase in the number of mining claims shows a similar extension of the industry. We note, however, that the mine taxes do not increase in proportion to the production. This fact is favorable to the mine operators, but unfavorable to the government. Here is a comparison of the numbers and wages of the Chinese, native, and white labour for the years 1903-1905.

Witwatersrand: Producing and Non-Producing Wines
Average Number in Service

	Chinese	Natives	Whites
1903			
Jan.—June	-	52,640	10,697
July-Dec.	_	64,824	11,704
1904			
Jan.—June	167	70,351	12,228
July—Dec.	11,112	74,149	13,823
1905			die General
Jan.—June	34,668	93,489	15,522
July-Dec.	47,859	88,671	15,925
1906			
Jan.—June	50,041	83,756	15,844

⁶⁰ Payne, op. cit., p. 41.

⁶¹ This table is made up from data given in Great Britain Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 3528, pp. 134-84.

Salaries and Wages

	Chinese	Natives	Whites
1903			
Jan.—June	_	£613,334	£1,770,434
July-Dec.	- 1	843,395	2,111,631
1904	*		
Jan.—June	£253	991,858	2,107,618
July-Dec.	22,771	1,039,070	2,383,247
1905			
Jan.—June	317,085	1,232,322	2,666,987
July—Dec.	476,000	1,208,651	3,029,137
1906			
Jan.—June	553,130	1,245,126	3,136,307

As we noted before in a comparison of wages among Chinese, Natives and Whites, the wages of Chinese and Natives were to those of Whites as one to six, but Chinese and Natives were being worked hard and profitably. The following tables show this more clearly:

Percentage of Labour at Work Above and Below Ground—Gold Mines, Transvaal, 1904-562

Chinese		Coloured		Whites	
below	above	below	above	below	above
79.18	20.82	67.18	32.82	42.15	57.85

⁶² Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers. Cd. 2819, p. 149.

Comparison of the Production in Transvaal Gold Mines, 1904-5

	Witwatersrand		Outside Districts		Transvaal ⁶⁸	
	Stamps	Value	Stamps	Value	Stamps	Value
1905 1904	6,930 5,555	£19,991,668 15,539,019	405 280	£910,416 555,990	7,335 5,835	£20,902,084 16,095,009
Increase	1,375	4,452,649	125	354,426	1,500	4,807,075

During the year 1905 the districts outside of the Rand showed increased activity; the number of the companies paying dividends was 16 as against 12 in 1904; the increase in production was 69,408 ounces of gold, and the number of stamps increased 125 over those of the previous year.⁶⁴

It is evident that Chinese labourers were in every way more efficient than the Native labourers. It is instructive here to read the opinion of the employers in 1905-6 as to the value of coolie labour, as expressed by the president of the Chamber of Mines, who, in his farewell address, given upon retiring from office in 1905, said, after enumerating the advantages and disadvantages of Chinese labour: "On account of the short experience in the use of the Chinese and the many difficulties arising out of the newness of the situation, it is difficult to compare the work of the Chinese and the natives, but taken as a whole, the efficiency of the Chinese can be pronounced as distinctly satisfactory."65 One year later, upon a similar occasion, the President of the Chamber said in his address: "When due allowance has been made for the novelty of the work performed by the Chinese in the mines, and when the necessity of giving them time to learn their duties has been considered, the standard of efficiency is very satisfactory. The average coolie is a steady worker." After an able defense of the use of the coolies in the mines and a statement of the advantages of the plan to the community, he concluded his speech with the following words: "By the figures which I have

21 Gent Belluin, for comment from Cd. 200, p. 100.

⁶³ The most important product of South Africa is the gold of the Transvaal. The principle seat of the Transvaal Gold Industry is the Witwatersrand area, including all the main Reef properties in and around Johannesburg and their extensions eastward to Springs and Heidelberg and westward to Randfortein. The other gold-bearing districts of the Transvaal are of miner importance.

⁶⁴ Annual Report of the Chamber of Mines, 1905, p. xlviii.

⁶⁵ Annual Report of the Chamber of Mines, 1904, p. xxx.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 1905, p. xxxl.

given you it is shown beyond a doubt that, whatever its disadvantages may be, Chinese labour has contributed greatly to that extension of industry which has taken place during the past two years and which has been the means of giving employment and providing a living for thousands of people, for whom, but for the introduction of the Chinese, there would have been no place on the Rand."67

In other pursuits, there were positive advantages resulting from the employment of the Chinese in the mines. The labour scarcity was no longer felt, and the agricultural development of the country proceeded, unhindered by the lack of labour. Similarly the demand for labourers for public works was satisfied, and the increase in government funds provided the necessary means for carrying out some of the necessary improvements. Means of transportation were also provided, roads were made, and irrigation plans were carried through. To this extent the Chinese certainly accomplished the purpose for which they were introduced and rendered valuable service to the Transvaal and to the whole of South Africa.

V. THE LIFE OF CHINESE LABOUR

The Chinese, in the first place, while engaged in the Rand mines, were producers; they were not consumers of the products of the country, at least, not to any great degree. In this respect they differed from the natives. The following daily allowance of food, as stated in the contract, shows that the requirements were almost exclusively for imported products:68

Rice, not less than1	1/2	1b.	
Fish or meat	1/2	,,	
Fresh vegetables1	1/4	,,	
Salt	1	oz.	
Sugar	1/2	"	-
Chinese tea	1/4	">>	

In addition, Chinese condiments in sufficient quantity were required, though other products might be substituted for these if they had equivalent nutritive value. What the coolies actually used is given in the following table of materials imported for Chinese consumption in the years 1905-1906.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. lxviii.

⁶⁸ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2246, p. 7.

⁶⁹ Payne, op. cit., p. 45.

	1905	1906
Rice	16,388,232 lbs.	18,450,739 lbs.
Meats	5,832,319	7,038,526
Fish	103,373	270,204
Salt	459,561	531,114
Tea	80,758	61,110
Bread	6,988,046	8,358,008

In 1905, Lionel Phillips wrote, on visiting the Transvaal mines:

On several occasions I went out to see the coolies have their dinner. is a most extraordinary sight. At the Glen Deep, Limited, for instance, they have a dining-room capable of seating 1,500 at a time. The order and cleanliness that prevails is beyond criticism. In the adjoining kitchen huge vessels, some containing well-cooked rice, and others stewed meat and vegetables, emit fumes of a most appetizing description. One coolie, representing ten of his friends seated at one of the tables in the diningroom, proceeds to the side of the kitchen where the serving takes place and obtains two vessels, one containing rice and the other stew, which he carries back, and from which the ten men then help themselves. No limit is placed upon the quantity of rice or tea which the coolies require, and the rations of meat are in every respect adequate. Two coolies were overheard discussing their new land, and one said, 'We live like mandarins in this country: we eat rice every day.' The position of affluence in which the coolie finds himself in South Africa is best brought home by remembering that his wages in China are only about two-pence a day, and that he migrates to Korea for the sake of earning the magnificent emolument of fivepence per day.

Phillips continued:

When the men first arrive their appetites are simply enormous, but after they have eaten as much as they can for about a fortnight, the consumption becomes normal. At this mine it is a pleasure to go among the coolies, because one is met by smiling faces at every turn, which is due to the keen interest which the manager takes in their welfare. The same description applies to many other mines; but, on the other hand, there are, of course, cases where, owing either to ignorance or the lack of good feeling on the part of the manager, or similar attributes—coupled possibly with apathy on the part of those in immediate charge of the coolies—a

less happy condition of affairs prevails.70

The Chinese have a love of plants and of birds that is pleasant to witness. Phillips wrote: "It is not uncommon to see a number of them gathered round some simple flower of the veld, which they touch and smell, but do not pick, and which they often end by digging up to plant in front of their bedroom in the compound. Many of them keep birds, over which they appeared to exercise great influence. I came across a tame little linnet that hopped from its owners hand to mine with no misgiving. People with so great a love of Nature's handiwork could not be without good qualities."

The Chinese labourers had to work in the service of his employer for ten hours in every twenty-four by day or night except Sundays and holidays specified in the contract. They had taken very kindly to Sunday. After twelve o'clock they were given permits to visit the neighbourhood. They were allowed a three-day holiday for the celebration of the Chinese New Year, and thoroughly enjoyed their festivities. Mr. Carter⁷² says: "Having seen some of the misery of humanity in the near East and in the cities of England, I can only say that I think the Chinese coolies on the Rand are in clover."

Nearly all the coolies possessed a smart costume, either brought from their native land or made by their own hands, in which they look most picturesque on high days and holidays. Otherwise they adopted European clothing.

They were very fond of theatricals, and at some of the mines they had already organized entertainments. At the Glen Deep they had placed in the hands of the manager £250, to be sent to China for the purchase of scenery and stage properties. As a contribution by about 2,000 men, this was no small tribute to their love of the drama. As we know that most of Chinese in Northern China are interested in folk drama and Peiping drama.

But the actuality was not so favorable as this sanguine account suggests. The Chinese labourers could engage in no normal social activities. There was no family life in the compounds. During the two years, June, 1904-1906, only

⁷⁰ Phillips, op. cit., p. 110-111.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 103-4.

⁷² Mr. Lane Carter, the well-known manager of the French Rand Gold Mining Company, who had six months' experiences in working with 1,404 coolies, who arrived on that mine on October 14, 1904.

⁷³ Phillips, op. cit., p. 113.

five women and thirty-one children had accompanied the labourers to the Rand.74

Mr. Jamieson wrote:75

It is a subject of comment amongst the resident officers conversant with the Chinese in their own country that after a few months on the Rand the coolies become 'de-Chinese-ed',...a sudden uprooting of ancient landmarks defining the path of duty, a relaxation of time-honoured canons of behavior, the withdrawal of the collective moral atmospheric pressure, if it may be so called, brought to bear on the individual from the day of his birth, by the family, the village and the community at large can be good for no man, and if after a short sojourn here the coolie finds that he can afford to disregard with impunity prescriptions hitherto considered sacred, it is not surprising that he should develop a tendency towards degeneration.

The Chinese labourers, being limited to the mine premises, as were the natives, required special housing provisions. The compound method, ⁷⁶ which had been in use from the beginning with the natives, was continued with the coolies. The compound was situated on the mine premises where the Chinese worked, and there they were housed and fed by the company for which they laboured. Each company employed from two thousand to three thousand coolies. These were under the direct control of a mine manager who was in charge of the mine and the compound. For the special administration of the compound a sub-manager was provided. In most cases the managers were further assisted in discipline and control by European Chinese-speaking controllers, who came with the labourers from China, and took service as overseers or controllers of the Chinese in the mines and compounds. ⁷⁷ Likewise each manager had an interpreter. Each mine had its quota divided into twenty or thirty groups of one hundred each; each group was placed in charge of a

⁷⁴ Of these one woman and two children had returned to China. By regulations the labourer had a right to be accompanied by his wife and children. Mr. Bianchini declared that the coolies complained that their wages were not sufficient to support their families in the Transvaal, where the cost of living was admittedly high.--Campbell, op. cit., p. 209.

⁷⁵ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 3338, p. 13. Mr. Jamieson, succeeded Evans as Superintendent of the Foreign Labour Department of the Transvaal Government in June, 1905.

⁷⁶ The Chinese compounds were simply barracks arranged with a large dining-hall in the center and surrounded by sleeping-rooms.

⁷⁷ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2401, p. 82.

Chinese overseer, called "headman," "headboy" or "subheadman." A number of coolies also were selected for police. The Chinese and Natives were in no case housed together, and so far as possible their work in the mines was separated. 80

Chinese labourers were not allowed to leave the compounds without special permission and, in no case, for more than forty-eight hours. They had no right to settle in South Africa by purchasing land, and were subject to a special penal code of extreme severity.

We have mentioned Chinese labour led an unnatural life under the compound system. From the beginning much criminal activity was evident among the coolies. As they became acquainted with the conditions under which they worked, the nature of the crime changed, but did not become less frequent.

The Chinese are, on the whole, a peaceable people, and many of them remained so in the Transvaal.⁸¹ But the continual gambling in the compounds involved them in debt, and they had to find money for payment. Accordingly, they engaged in robbery as the easiest method of securing the necessary funds.⁸²

One important effect of the offenses of the labourers was that they inten-

^{78 &}quot;It is merely for the more efficient control of the labourers, that instead of having a man in charge of 3,000 to 4,000 labourers they were divided into a certain number of gangs or sections and a labourer placed at the head of each group, a labour whose duty was to report when any offense had been committed by any labourer in his gang. If he failed to report them he was liable on conviction to a penalty." Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2786, p. 69.

⁷⁹ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2401, p. 82.

⁸⁰ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 2786, p. 23.

⁸² The labourer who can not pay his debts has collective pressure brought to bear upon him, and he is in the compounds to such an extent that life becomes a burden to him. When in this position, two alternatives present themselves to him as a means of escape: first, to desert for the purpose of robbery in order to get the funds to liquidate the indebtedness; second, to commit suicide or to commit murder and go to prison. Annual Report of the Chamber of Mines; 1906, p. 552.

sified the antagonistic attitude among the citizens. Of the 13,532 convictions in 1905-6, 11,785 were for violation of the ordinance. This category may be broken down into three main heads, as follows: first, desertions, or leaving the mines without the intention of returning; second, refusal to show a permit when absent from the mines; third, absence from the mines without a permit. In the last instance, such escapes were for the purpose of securing opium, or obtaining weapons, or for the purpose of punishing those who had taken advantage of them in dealing in these articles.⁸⁸

Besides the antagonistic attitude of the citizens, there are perhaps three reasons for this widespread criminal activity. In the first place, the Asiatic is fundamentally different from the European in his character and ways of thinking. Moreover, the Chinese are at the extreme limit of this differentiation, and their inability to understand European ways and laws must be taken as a matter of course. The Chinese at home was governed by edicts and proclamations. He was fully aware of what he could and could not do. He knew the laws and the punishments for their violations. He accepted his punishment as just if he had committed the offense for which he was convicted. Out of such an environment, about 55,000 coolies were transplanted within a year to a country whose laws and institutions were the product of a different civilization. In this country, instead of an edict which he understood, the coolie had to obey laws of which he had no knowledge, and, contrary to all his ideas, ignorance did not save him from prosecution.

In the second place, a serious mistake was made at the outset in the selection of a superintendent. On former occasions when Chinese labourers had emigrated, they had gone from South China, in the province of Kwantang 廣東 and Fukien 為東. 84 In this particular case, Mr. H R. Skinner, who had been sent to investigate the possibilities of a labour supply from China, reported that "it is from South China that the labour will have to be obtained in the first instance, especially if it is wanted on short notice."85 The governor, expecting the labourers to come from South China, selected a superintendent who was acquainted with the South Chinese. The superintendent, in turn, surrounded himself with a staff of officers whose experience was also limited to this class of coolies. The labourers, however, with the exception of 900 Cantonese, came from North China. The field in North China had been

⁸³ Many white merchants looked upon the coolie as a person from whom they could make unfair exactions. The Chinese were too shrewd for this, and trouble often resulted. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 3338, p. 11 ff.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

⁸⁵ Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1895 p. 79.

opened up through the Russo-Japanese War, and it was found that there was an enormous labour supply in this part of China. North China had for many years furnished the agricultural labourers for Manchuria. The Chinese themselves preferred to work in Manchuria, but since this field was closed, they were willing to accept work elsewhere. The Northern Chinese have been described by one well acquainted with them as follows: "The northern man is of an altogether larger and and heavier build than the southern; but he is duller of intellect. He appeared to me to be stronger constitutionally. Further, the Chinese of the northern section differ from those of the south in speech and in customs. On this account the officials, being familiar with the southern Chinese only, could not perform their work of inspection and supervision satisfactorily.86 Communication between government officers and Chinese was impossible except through mine overseers, who, being themselves frequently the object of the labourers complaint, would not report the grievances. The labourer, unable to secure assistance, fair treatment, and sympathy, became at the very beginning of his work in the mines prejudiced and discontented. When the seeds of discontent were once sown, it was difficult to eradicate the dissatisfaction among the coolies, especially since there were new problems of control which continually engaged the attention of the officials as they arose for solution.87

In addition, the dialects in the different parts of China are so very diverse that the habitants of one part cannot understand those of another. The person who understands thoroughly the dialect of North China may not comprehend that of South China. He may even know well the dialect of one district in North China and not be able to understand that of another. As the Chinese could not speak English, there was no way to communicate with them except through interpreters.

In the third place, there was opposition to the control of Chinese labour. Under the ordinance the labourer could secure a pass and be absent from the mines for forty-eight hours. These excursions into the town and surrounding country

⁸⁶ The significance of having well-qualified government officials was recognized by Lord Selborne when he said: "No proficiency, however, on the part of the officials belonging to the mine management will obviate the necessity of the government being provided with a staff of inspectors under the superintendent of foreign labour, who are thoroughly conversant with the Chinese language. What is to be borne in mind is that apart from the character of the Chinese themselves, the whole question is one of management." Great Britain, Parlimentary Papers, Cd. 2786, p. 26-7.

⁸⁷ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 3338, pp. 3-4.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

showed him opportunities of bettering his condition. In June, 1906, five Chinese were convicted for carrying on independent enterprises. This is not a formidable list, but when we remember the strictness with which the Chinese were guarded, this number in one month is not without significance. There is much to show that the Chinese, knowing he could not engage in independent enterprises, hoped to force his employers to give him better terms under which he might work. First, the indenture granted the coolie the right to perform piecework whereby he might increase his wage. Although this was usually a favorite method with the coolie, he did not take advantage of it here. Second, the labourers refused to work after drilling a definite amount. They acted together and set upon and beat those who dared to drill more than the prescribed amount. Third, all labourers were informed that they would be given free passage to their homes in China by the Transvaal government if they desired to return. Although practically none of the labourers accepted the offer of return passage, beca use working opportunity in Africa were so superior to those in China, 89 they nevertheless continued to cause difficulties. Fourth, some of the labourers, escaping, engaged in independent enterprises. Fifth, many of the strikes and disturbances cannot be explained on any other ground.

The efforts of the coolies to force better terms from the mine operators showed the completeness with which the labourers grasped their advantageous position. They perceived the unworkable character of the ordinance under which they were employed. They soon saw that they could make their labour unprofitable to the employers. They knew also that in case a new contract was drawn they would be in a much better position to demand terms that would be satisfactory to themselves than they had been in the first instance. The knowledge that the Chinese had of their superior position with reference to their employers, and the inability of the employers to find a scheme under the ordinance whereby they could force the labourers to fulfil their contracts lay at the very bottom of the failure of the experiment with Chinese labour in the Transvaal.

VI. THE POLITICAL AGITATION ABOUT CHINESE LABOUR

Chinese labour was necessary for the Rand. It had been introduced by the will of the Transvaal people. But the Liberals denied that the Labour Ordinance had expressed the will of the people of the Transvaal. In Chinese labour the Liberal party saw an excellent political weapon. During Lord

⁸⁹ Huang-Chao han Wen-ksien t'ung-Koo, Encyclopedia of the historical records of the Ch'ing Oynasty, continued 皇朝接文獻通考 V. 339, p. 10808.

Milner's visit to England, from September to November 1903, he received assurances from the Liberal Imperialists that they would support him on the Chinese issue as they had done during the war, and they promised to use their influence to prevent party capital from being made out of it.⁹⁰ As time passed, however, Haldane alone kept faith with the High Commissioner, the remaining Imperialists succumbing to the temptation of employing the issue for party advantage.⁹¹

Attacking Milner and the Government with every weapon in their armoury, the Liberals concentrated on three main points, the first being the lack of need for the importation of the Chinese because of the sufficient number of natives in the country, who would come forward if only reasonable wages, living and working conditions were offered them. They accused the mineowners, and rightly, of being interested only in profits, not in the welfare of their native employees. They shot wide of the target, however, when they arraigned Milner for playing the capitalists' game. They only showed a lack of appreciation of Milner's reconstruction policy as a whole, and complete ignorance of the High Commissioner's efforts to improve native conditions on the mines. They even went to the length of castigating Milner for organizing a state in which a few aristocratic whites were to be masters of a servile coloured race.

More constructive criticism emanated from the Liberal ranks when they argued that the difficulties of labour supply were of a temporary nature, because of the natives' loss of confidence in the white man, the reduction in wages during the war, and the competition of other industries. Such difficulties, they held, while gradually righting themselves, would completely do so with the passage of time. If this were denied, then how had an annual rate of output of £10,000,000 been reached by April 1904, a figure which exceeded the 1894 rate? The time factor was, however, all important in the Milner programme; he could not afford to wait. The recovery of the country had to proceed at top speed, for only so would trade expand and new industries be founded, which in turn would provide the opportunities for those British settlers who would help Milner to anglicize the Transvaal. In later years, after the Boers had taken over the government of the country, the Liberals were proved correct in their argument that there were enough natives within the

⁹⁰ Milner Papers, Vol. 11, p. 477.

⁹¹ Ibid., 485-6. e. g. Haldane's name alone amongst those of the prominent Imperialists is missing from the Liberal Division List on the motion condemning Chinese labour.

country for all industrial purposes. 92 But in the meantime conditions had changed, and in such a way as to come to the rescue of the Liberals. tween the time of Milner's crisis and 1907, native confidence had slowly been restored, the High Commissioner's reforms in the mines had had their effect and had made the natives less averse to seeking employment there, while the depression of 1906-7 entailed a stoppage of rail construction, the building of public works, and so forth, thereby releasing a considerable number of natives for work elsewhere. In 1903-4, however, the Liberals could put forward no constructive alternative to Milner's policy. They spoke of employing a large number of white men in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, but they failed to take into account a number of facts. Even the 'poor whites' preferred to go workless than take on 'Kaffir work,' while the mineowners resented the thought of whites in this capacity, for it would call for higher wages to keep up a higher standard of living. A white labour force would tend to organize itself into unions, and white employees, being enfranchised, would be able to voice their aims, possibly to the detriment of the mineowners, in the Legislative Assembly. The Liberals advocated improvements in machinery, but these necessitated capital outlay which could hardly be afforded on any sort of extensive scale in mines with low-grade ore. Native wages, as the Liberals also urged, certainly could have been, and later were, raised with profit.93 But it is very doubtful whether any of these measures could have adequately supplied Milner's immediate need.

In the second instance the Liberals attacked Milner's policy on the grounds of immorality. Liberal political philosophers like L. T. Hobhouse and Gilbert Murray argued that Chinese indentured labour constitued factual, if not legal, slavery; numberless gradations existed between absolute chattel slavery and complete personal freedom, and indentured labour became slavery

92	The following statistics relating to the number of natives employed in the gold-mining industry are compiled from the Annual Reports of the Transyaal Chamber
	of Mines and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. They are quoted in Van der Horst, Native Labour in South Africa, (Oxford, 1942), p. 230.

1904	77,425	1907	115,585	1910	195,216
1905	100,785	1908	150,729	1911	202,993
1906	94,305	1909	173,026	1912	206,374

93 Average rates of native wages fluctuated as follows:

Pre-war	60s. (per month)
1902	34s. 8d.
1906	56a.
1910	549.

They are quoted in G. B. Pyrah, Imperial Policy and South Africa, 1902-10, (Oxford, 1955), p. 191.

when combined, as in this case, with grave restraints on personal liberty. 94 Their indentures were of three years' duration, renewable for a further period; during their stay in the country they were to work only in the mines and to be confined to compounds, in which they would be punished for their offences by special courts. But having decided upon the desperate step, the Unionists chose the lesser evil when they resolved to house the Chinese in compounds rather than permit them to dwell freely alongside the other races, thereby plunging the country still farther into the vortex of racial strife. wherein lay the difference between housing the Chinese and keeping the natives in compounds; and yet this was the first time the Liberals had raised their voices in condemnation of the system. It was also the last, and that in spite of the evidence of Botha before the Transvaal Labour Commission in 1903 to the effect that he would, if necessary, recruit native labour by breaking up the reserves.95 The Liberals came to insist that the Chinese be repatriated at the time of granting self-government to the Boers, but they made no mention of arranging 'free' conditions for the natives who were to replace them. Their criticism developed along scurrilous lines, and never more so than during the general election campaign in January 1906, when they produced stories of Chinese slavery and homosexuality, and posters showing the Chinese being driven to work in chains. False accusations were bandied about in the most alarming and unscrupulous fashion; high principles were forgotten in the heat of the election campaign. The Liberals made no suggestions for a better alternative.

The third stand the Liberals took on the grounds that, though the Importation Ordinance had received the approval of the Transvaal Legislative Council, the majority of the colonists did not favour it. 96 It is difficult to estimate how far this contention can be upheld. Dispatches in which the High Commissioner claimed popular support for his policy were numerous. But except in one or two cases the evidence he quotes is from a mining or professional source, for example, deputations from the Rand mines and public bodies such as town councils, chambers of commerce, the Stock Exchange Committee, surveyors, accountants, and so on. The labouring classes on the Rand, or at least some of the organizations like the Transvaal Miners' Association and the European Miners' Trade Union which represented them, also eventually turned to Chinese labour as the only practical solution of the problem. Centred for the most part on the Rand, they probably came to appreciate that if the expansion of trade and industry were to be maintained, this remedy alone would

⁹⁴ Pyrah, op. cit., p. 191.

⁹⁵ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 1897, pp. 501-7.

⁹⁶ Pyrah, op. cit., p. 192.

suffice. But there were among the British those who did not favour the introduction of the Chinese. Mr. Grant, Native Labour Commissioner to the Chamber of Mines, whose job consisted of organizing and regulating the labour supply to the mines, and watching over the welfare and conditions of the natives during their period of engagement, had given evidence before the Transvaal Labour Commission to the effect that he believed that an abundance of native labour would have been forthcoming but for the blunders of the Chamber's policy, particularly the reduction of wages, which alienated the natives.97 Then those, such as Outhwaite and Hutchison, who were emerging among others as the political leaders of the labouring classes, also took part in the anti-Chinese agitation, and Hutchison made a remarkable statement to Sinclair when, in 1903, as a delegate of the Responsible Government Association, he came to London to impress upon the Liberals the need for granting self-government at the earliest possible moment. He did not doubt that a sufficient number of natives existed to work the mines, but admitted that 'uuder the circumstances prevailing at the present time,' Chinese labour would 'afford to the mineowners the only possible chance of working the lowgrade mines.' He believed, however, that those circumstances would be modified in course of time, and accordingly urged patience. The predominance of evidence from Boer sources implies that the Afrikaners, with few exceptions, had forsaken their earlier position and now regarded the policy with marked antipathy. They were possibly prejudiced against the experiment by reflecting upon the experiences of Natal with Indian coolies.98 It has been suggested that some opposition arose from doubts as to whether repatriation would ever take place. The Boer leaders were, at any rate, consistent from July 1903 onwards in their deprecatory pronouncements. In speeches throughout the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, in correspondence (for instance, between Smuts and Emily Hobhouse), in deputations to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, even in a special cable to the Colonial Secretary when the attack on the Importation Ordinance was about to begin in the House of Commons on February 10, 1904, they protested and emphasized the hostility of an overwhelming majority of the Boer population to the introduction of the introduction of the Chinese. Hof meyr gives it as his opinion that a majority of the Transvaalers were against it from the beginning, and that the coming of the Chinese resulted from a skilfully organized campaign by the mineowners; and he believes that the state of feeling in the colony on this issue did

⁹⁷ Great Britain, Partiamentary Papers, Cd. 1897, pp. 333-4.

⁹⁸ Milner Papers, vol. 11, p. 458.

much to swing the elections in favour of Botha in February 1907.90 and salara

The Liberal Government came in with a big majority. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became prime minister and Winston Churchill, under-secretary for the colonies. They speedily proceeded to reverse the policy of their predecessors in office. The Lyttelton Constitution for the Transvaal and Orange River Colony was scrapped, and responsible government conferred upon the two countries forthwith. Immediately after the fall of the Balfour Cabinet, Lord Elgin ordered by cable the stopping of the importation of Chinese, pending the decision to grant responsible government to the colony.

VII. CHINESE LABOUR AFTER 1906

The determination of the Liberal Cabinet to terminate the recruitment of further Chinese coolies for the Transvaal was followed by the announcement in the King's Speech, on February 19, 1906, of an even more direct reversal of Unionist policy. It was the intention of the Government to advise His Majesty to grant responsible government to both of the new colonies at an early date. A week later Lord Milner delivered a striking speech in the House of Lords in which he condemned these changes of policy. To forbid the people of the Transvaal to employ Chinese labour, if they required it, was tyrannous.

This statement was followed shortly by the announcement that the Government intended to send a Commission to the new colonies to make enquiries on the spot, and to advise them as to the form of the constitutions to be granted respectively to the two new colonies. The commission, formally styled "the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Constitution Committee," but better known as the West Ridgeway Commission, was composed of Sir J. West Ridgeway (chairman), Lord Sandhurst, Sir Francis Hopwood, and Colonel Duncan Johnson, R.E. 100 It was constituted on March 21, 1906. Its members left England a fortnight later, held their first meeting at Pretoria on May 1, and, with the exception of Colonel Johnson, sailed from South Africa for London on June 27. Their departure was accompanied by reassuring statements of the immediate intentions of the Government in respect of the Chinese labour supply. The licenses for the recruitment of 16,000 additional coolies, issued in November 1905 by the Transvaal Government, were not to be cancelled; since such action would

⁹⁹ Jan H. Hofmeyr, South Africa, (London, 1931), pp. 179-80. Hofmeyr was South African statesman. Real leader of the Afrikaner Bond party in Cape Colony from about 1880. After the Boer War, with the large outlook on affairs which was taken by the Boer leaders of the Transvaal, and which led to the union of the South African colonies.

¹⁰⁰ Worsfeld, op. cit., vol. II, p. 370.

make the Imperial Government responsible for any loss arising from the breach of the contracts entered into by the mining companies on the strength of the licenses so issued. And while the Government intended to cause the Labour Importation Ordinance to be amended in certain respects in which it was defective, in their own and Lord Selborne's opinion, and had already forbidden the issue of any further licenses beyond the 16,000 the question of the subsequent employment of Chinese in the mine was to be left to the decision of the elective Legislative Assembly of the Transvaal, which was to be constituted with as little delay as possible. In the event, however, that the responsible government of the colony should determine to continue the importation of Chinese, the legislation giving effect to this decision would be reserved for the approval of the Imperial Government. In order to secure approval it had to contain no provisions imposing conditions of a semi-servile nature upon the coolies during their residence in the colony.

In point of fact the number of Chinese employed on the Rand increased from 47,267 at the end of 1905 to 52,917 at the end of 1906. It rose subsequently to some 54,000 before the determination of the Liberal Cabinet to stop further recruiting in China had begun to check the upward movement. From this point a gradual diminution, due to the expiry of existing contracts, set in; and ultimately the last Chinese coolies were repatriated in March 1910.

In the House of Commons Churchill gave further and more precise information upon the effect of the provisions in the letters patent dealing specifically with the crucial questions of land settlement and Chinese labour. On the question of the Chinese and Chinese reservation, Churchill said: In regard to Chinese labour we have scrupulously kept our promises to the House of Commons, but I do not think we have been guilty of breaking contracts or pursuing a course which must lead to breach of contracts... The contract and the Ordinance must be taken together. As the chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Asquith) has pointed out, the ordinance was entirely within the discretion of this Government while they were responsible for South African affairs. It will hereafter be entirely in the discretion of the local Government. It is obvious that the Ordinance can be amended and altered...."

On this point Lord Elgin said: "... if any fresh ordinance were proposed by the new Government of the Transvaal it would have to come home as a reserved Bill. This does not mean that if the Transvaal Government were to bring forward an Ordinance and submit it for approval to His Majesty's Government, and I still held the office I now hold, I would not give it the most careful

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 377.

consideration due to all measures deliberately sent home by any responsible Government of a colony." 102

The elections of the members of the Legislative Assembly of the Transvaal under the new constitution took place on February 20, 1907. They resulted in the return of 37 "Het Volk," 21 progressive, 6 Nationalist, 3 Labour, and 2 Independent candidates. General Botha was thereupon asked by the Governor to undertake the formation of a ministry—a task which he successfully performed—and on March 21 the Parliament of the Transvaal was formally opened by Lord Selborne. 103

On the subject of Chinese labour the Governor's speech contained the following sentences:—

My ministers are resolved that the employment of Chinese labour on the mines of the Witwatersrand shall cease at the earliest possible moment. With regard to those Chinese labourers already employed on the mines my ministers will take no steps to prevent their repatriation at the end of their indentures, unless they are convinced that such repatriation will have to take place before an effective substitute, either in the form of other unskilled labour or improved mechanical appliances, has been found—in which case they will be prepared to recommend to Parliament such legislation as will render the temporary renewal of indentures possible. With the exception, however, of a small batch of 407 unskilled labourers whose indentures expire towards the end of June, there are none whose indentures will expire until next August. As it is proposed that Parliament shall reassemble for the main business of the Session early in June next, my ministers do not consider it necessary at this state to make any further announcement of policy on this matter. 104

In respect to Chinese labour, therefore, the responsible government of the Union, upon taking office, announced that it intended to repatriate the existing labourers if and when this could be done without injury to the mining industry. Three months later General Botha, when he was in London attending the Colonial Conference of 1907, obtained the Liberal Cabinet's consent to the issue by the Transvaal of a further loan of £5,000,000 upon the terms of the £35,000,000 loan; that is to say, with interest and principal guaranteed by the Imperial Government. There was nothing extraordinary in this; since Lord

¹⁰² Ibid., v. 1, p. 378.

¹⁰³ Ibid., v. II, p. 379.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 380;

Milner had himself estimated the sum required for the development of the new colonies at £40,000,000. But the Liberal Cabinet made no secret of the fact that, in granting this favour they had been directly influenced by the consideration that the power to borrow if necessary, up to £5,000,000 would enable the Transvaal Government to take the risk of a fall of revenue arising from the abandonment of Chinese labour, which it might not otherwise have been willing to do. And in pursuance of this understanding, upon General Botha's return to Pretoria, no legislative provision for the importation of new labourers was made. But at the same time the original Labour Importation Ordinance, as amended in 1905 and 1906, was re-enacted, word for word, and, with the assent of the Imperial Government, provision was made that, not withstanding anything to the contrary in the letters patent of the Elgin Constitution, the Chinese labourers already engaged should complete the full term of their three-year contracts. 105

VIII. CONCLUSION

The whole matter was permanently closed after the Chinese labourers had been returned. Chinese labour, it may be said in conclusion, undoubtedly saved the South African economy from collapse. It was hoped that the prosperity of the immediate post-war boom would become a regular and permanent feature of the economy. No thought existed of a depression, much less any calculation as to why one might occur or how it might be overcome. The labour shortage, then, took everyone by surprise, and what developed into a desperate situation called for a desperate remedy. Once the labour scarcity came to be felt on the Rand, reverberations echoed throughout the country. With the prospect of a stationary mining industry, the financial position at once became precarious, industry and trade began to contract, British immigration ceased-indeed, emigration figures were recorded for a few months at the end of 1903 and the beginning of 1904—the programme of public works construction had to be cut-in fact financial and economic stagnation confronted Milner and the Government. Short of a serious impairment of the High Commissioner's reconstruction schemes, a further supply of unskilled labour was imperative. The Chinese enabled the mines to keep expanding until such time as sufficient native labour was either released from other reconstruction activity, or attracted or forced to the mines by the pressure of other circumstances. The constantly increasing output of gold which the Chinese ensured had the effect of restoring the financial position, expanding trade, and restarting immigration. The increase can best be expressed by comparison.

¹⁰⁵ The contracts could be reaswed for two years if United Kingdom and China approved.

The output for the year 1904-5, £18,381,129-almost equalled that for 1898-9, £18,635,937; while production for 1906, £24,606,336, was almost double that for 1903, £12,628,057.

By August 1910, the year of the Union, the number of coloured (mainly native African) labourers employed on the Witwatersrand gold mines had risen from 103,863 in March 1907 to 185,467. In place of the 53,679 Chinese employed in 1907,106 there were, therefore, in 1910 more than 80,000 additional natives. But the satisfactory position indicated at first sight by these figures was largely illusory. In the first place, the Chinese were much more competent workmen than the Kaffirs; and in the second, the gold industry, although it had developed steadily in the years 1907 to 1910, would have developed both more extensively and more economically, if the mining companies had been able to employ Chinese as well as native African labour. 107 But such an arrangement was impossible because of the political situation in England, which, combined with growing hostility in Africa to the Chinese, produced a public outcry which the South African Government and the mines could not ignore.

¹⁰⁶ Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Cd. 3528, p. 183.

¹⁰⁷ An article was written by Sir Lionel Phillips in which he said: "The supply of native labour is still somewhat inadequate, and the industry would be more prosperous and its operations more extensive if the complete requirements in that connection could be satisfied. From the economic standpoint, the repatriation of the entire force of Chinese labourers was a blunder. When the Chinese were introduced the native labour supply was lamentably short, and the country was threatened with ruin. The depression was acute. Large numbers of white people were out of work and bordering upon starvation -- so much so that a considerable exodus from South Africa took place. The Chinese proved themselves to be first-class manual labourers, and, on the whole, were eminently law abiding. Owing to the spurious agitation that was raised in England and the infamous false hoods that were spread as to their treatment, as well as the inducements offered by the Liberal Government the Transvaal Government decided to repatriate them; and although their places were ultimately filled by raw natives recruited through the strengous exertions of the Governments of the various colonies, the industry suffered considerably through the inefficiency of their successors. In the course of time no doubt the native labour supply will be so developed that the needs of the industry will be fully met, but it is folly to suppose that because the number of Chinese engaged may have been replaced by . natives there was no damage done. If 5(,000 or even 3),000 Chinese had been retained for a time, the progress would have been so much greater." The Times, November 5, 1910. . 5.7

On the Identification of Hsu Fu's Colonization with Jimmu Tenno's Eastern Expedition

An open discussion with a well-known professor of a famons university, here "R" used in place of his name.

By Tingsen S. Wei (衛挺生)

Dear Professor R:

Referring to your letter of January 16, 1959, I promised to produce facts to satisfy your intellectual demand. I now undertake to explain each one of your points of doubt, with complete data for reference. (I shall cite my writings: "Shinko" for Jimmu Kaikoku Shinko "H & J" for Hsu Fu and Japan, "Orient" for discussions in the "Orient" monthly, "D. R." for articles in the "Democratic Review" fortnightly, "C.C." for articles in the "Chinese Culture" quarterly, "Y.C." for the reprint Yayoi Culture—The First Chinese Culture in Japan from "C.C." Vol. I, no. 3, "Bk. Rev. Hashimoto" for my review of Hashimoto's book Ancient Japan Studied in the Light of Far Eastern Histories; and also Japanese books, "Hashimoto" for ibid., "T.N.B.T.,I." for the recent Japanese work of collaboration by over 60 specialists, Tsusettsu Nihon Bunkashi Taikei vol. I of the 12 volumes 1956-1957.)

In identifying a person, an act, or an event direct evidence is always the best. But in the absence of any direct evidence, indirect and circumstantial evidences are the next best. The Anglo-American law, to prevent cruelty and torture, forbids any means used to compel a criminal-suspect to accuse himself to give direct evidence. A jury of common people of common sense is used to vote on the strength of indirect and circumstantial evidences whether a given person is or is not guilty of a certain criminal act.

In my study to ascertain whether the Hsü Fu colonization party of the Chinese historic records was the Eastern Expedition party of Jimmu Tenno of the Japanese legends, I have found out that all the indirect and circumstantial evidences agree in the affirmative. But direct evidences are lacking. We can find no documents in which Jimmu Tenno directly told anyone that he was

Hsü Fu. Nor any of his aides ever said it. Nor any stone or bronze left any inscription to that effect. Therefore, any scholar today can say, with the numerous indirect and circumstantial evidences, that Hsü Fu was most probably Jimmu Tenno. Any other scholar can also say, for lacking any direct evidence that he does not believe it. We now live 2,178 years after the event. We cannot get direct evidences from either side in the present day. We have to satisfy ourselves with all the indirect and circumstantial evidences that we can find.

You said, you femain "entirely unconvinced about" my "main proposition." That means, without direct evidences, you won't believe that Hsû Fu's party could be Jimmu's party, or Hsû Fu could be Jimmu. But you also said that you "feel that" my "ideas may contribute to build up a correct picture of the problem as a whole." That means, you nevertheless think that certain circumstantial evidences are worth knowing. Now, my dear professor, "entirety" mathematically means "100%". When you accept some of my circumstantial evidences, your old conviction can no longer be 100%. Therefore, you are not "entirely unconvinced," unless you have mathematically "infinite" conviction in the old and "infinite" prejudice against the new concept.

We are historians. We are not litigants. A decision is not needed. Direct evidences are not available and not obtainable. With circumstantial evidences, we can only say in terms of probabilities. Those who believe, can say "probably yes." Those who do not believe, can also say, "probably no." To a historian who wants to know the situation more concretely, a study of what were the highest probabilities is always a worthwhile scholarly undertaking. The readers can be their own judges, and freely choose their own sides, pro or con. They constitute a grand jury in a sense.

But it will be interesting to tell you that it was on my hypothesis that Hsü Fu founded the Yamato Kingdom that my predictions have become almost prophetic in Japan since 1950. Whenever I had an argument with Japanese scholars where I said "yes" and the Japanese scholars said "no", it always turned out in the end that it is clearly proven by facts often of their own later discovery that "yes" is correct. Let me cite a few of such instances:

- a. I affirmed that Hsū Fu's Kingdom was in Yamato (Shinko, pp. 123-128)—"Yes"—1950.
 - b. Dr. Tsuda Sokichi, no. 1 leader of "Japanese-history-based-on-science"

- movement, objected and said that there is "no reliable literature to prove that Japan was Penglai" (H. & J. p. 51)—"no"—1951.
- c. I replied, I said that Hsū Fu's Kingdom was Yamato, not because it was proved to be "Penglai" but because it had the land-marks of Hsū Fu's Kingdom on record, namely, "flat plains and great lakes." No place east of the East China Sea other than Yamato, Japan has had such topographical features and was accessible to east-bound voyage from Langya in Shantung. "If you can find another, then I am ready to change my hypothesis." (H & J pp. 55-57)—"yes,"—1951.
- d. Then Dr. Tsuda became silent-"yes"-1951.
- a. I theorized that both Yayoi culture and Ancient Tomb culture of Japan were Chinese culture, (Shinko, p. 279) and Hsū Fu's party probably first brought in Yayoi culture into Japan (Shinko pp. 279, 282-283; H & J pp. 71-72)—"yes"—1950.
 - b. Dr. Ienaga Saburo objected and said that Yayoi pottery entirely differed in kinds, forms, styles and nature from the pottery of the Chinese people. He then asserted, "No archaeologist would ever agree that Hsū Fu first brought in Yayoi pottery or Yayoi culture from China" (H & J p. 78)—"no"—1952.
 - c. I answered and proved that Yayoi pottery was indeed Chinese pottery (H & J p. 87-92 also plates; Y. C. pp. 2-5, plates III-IX)—"yes"—1953.
 - d. Dr. Ienaga became silent-"yes"-1953.
 - e. Dr. Sugihara Sosuke, Chairman of The Committee on Yayoi Culture of The Archaeological Society of Japan in which all Japanese archaeologists are members, has accepted my proof—"yes"—1958.
- a. I affirmed that Yayoi culture entered Japan during the Ch²in Empire around 219 B. C. brought in by Hsū Fu (Shinko, pp. 115-122)—"yes" —1950.
 - b. Dr. Ienaga objected and said, that excavations at Hakoishihama of Dango and at Matsuhara of Chikuzen, both unearthed Wang Mang coins with stone arrow-heads and Yayoi pottery together. That fact proved that the earliest time of Yayoi culture in Japan could not be earlier than Wang Mang's time (9-22 A. D.) in the lst century A. D.—"no"—1952.

- c. I cited historical records of the prevalence in China of the use of stone arrow heads in the generation when Hsü Fu was born to prove that the use of stone arrow-head could not be taken as indications of stone age (H & J pp. 92-93)—"yes"—1952.
- d. Dr. Ienaga became silent-"yes"-1952.
- e. Professor Goto Moriichi reconfirmed that the time when Yayoi culture entered Japan was in the second half of the 3rd century B. C. or Ch'in time (TNBT, I, p. 21, a book edited by Dr. Ienaga who was no. 1 editor on a committee of 14 editors)—"yes"—1956.
- f. I reaffirmed it (Y. C. pp. 5-9,12)-"yes"-1958.
- g. Dr. Sugihara announced in March 1958 the result of a carbon-14 test at the earliest site of Yayoi culture in Itatsuke of Fukuoka in N. Kyushu, performed by his Committee, with a dating reading of 300 B. C. ± 90. Now, Hsū Fu's second voyage was 219 B. C., third voyage was 210 B. C.—"yes"—1858.
- 4. a. I affirmed that the Yamato Race ("Descended-from-Heaven Race") was Chinese from Langya (Shinko, p. 287)—"yes"—1950.
- b. Dr. Hasebe Kotondo, the highest authority on the ethnology of Japan, after a nation-wide team of anthropometry conducted a general measurement of college and university students all over Japan for several years, took their reports, analyzed them, and compared them carefully with all the neighboring races from Kamchatka and Siberia in the north to Australians in the south, including all the Far Eastern races, and finally came to the conclusion that the modern Japanese race is anthropometrically the same as the Chinese inhabitants in the 3 provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu and Anhwei (TNBT, I, p. 96-98). Furthermore, modern Japanese have the same racial characteristics as the people of the Ancient Tomb culture and of Yayoi culture, but have different characteristics from the people of Jomon culture (ibid. pp. 101-105). But historically, before Hsü Fu's time, Langya was once the capital of the Kingdom of Yueh (Viet) for nearly a century. The territory of Yueh consisted then mainly of the three Provinces just mentioned (Y. C. p. 16 and map 1). Therefore, the early Yamato Race was identical as the Langya Yueh Race (They were Chinese) - "yes" -1956.

All these four points cited above, are all settled beyond doubt in Japan today. How could I be so prophetic? It was the hypothesis that Hsu Fu

was probably the founder of the Yamato Kingdom.

What led me to formulate such a hypothesis? First of all, I carefully re-examined the historical records of the Hsü Fu events, and found them to be extremely authentic beyond any possible doubt. Secondly, I examined the Eastern Sea geography and topography, and found that the Yamato Kingdom of Jimmu Tenno coincided perfectly and uniquely with Hsū Fu's Kingdom's geography and topography as found on most reliable record. Thirdly, I found that the archaeological findings of Yayoi Japan all fully agree. Fourthly, I found the Jimmu legend as well as the Jimmu myths fit perfectly into Hsü Fu's events and conditions, in institutions and in thought. Then I made a minute point-by-point examination of all other relevant scientific findings relating to this subject and found them all agree. In geometry, when all the points of two diagrams coincide perfectly, then the two are proved to be identical, "q.e.d." With a similar "q.e.d." proof, my hypothesis enables me to defeat any scholar who wants to argue with me. For instance, Tsuda and his followers theorized that Jimmu Tenno was a fictitious person. I challenged them to prove it. They can not. In the end, they have to give in. They had relied on the "Himeko-Yamato-in-Kyushu theory." When I demolished that theory from the foundation, they are lost.

When Albert Einstein first published his general theory of relativity, I asked the opinion of a German scholar who was the student of Eucken and Driesch. He said, "Irrational and unbelievable." That was the general opinion of scholars of that time. When the result of the observations of the first total sun eclipse was studied, it was found out that calculations based on Einstein's theory were more correct than those based on Newtonian physics. Then, Einstein theory began to have followers. When repeated observations were made the result was similar. So the Newtonian physics became modified by Einstein theory, not because the latter sounds more rational, but because the latter corresponds more closely with actualities. When Einstein's formula produced A-bomb and H-bomb, he became the supreme authority in the world of physics.

Now, my theory can solve all the problems of Yayoi culture, whether you like it or not. There is a rule of prudence in the academic world. That is, an all-round authority in any field should never argue with one who has conducted earnest research on a certain special subject for one year or more. Discussions should be made with an open-mind. A non-observance of this rule by any authority, will place himself at the risk of losing prestige. You are now arguing on my subject with me who have done research on it

for ten years. You are following the footsteps of Tsuda and Ienaga of 9 years ago, and you take their stands that they have abandoned 8 to 5 years ago. Tsuda today remains a hero of the past. Ienaga is making good by being the no. I editor and contributor of the book that confirms my principal points while leaving the only galling point in silence. Since you do not study my writings carefully and challenge me on my thesis, I now give you facts and reasons and list all your objections and doubts and answer you point-by-point. If you are not satisfied with any or all of my answers, I shall welcome your further points of doubt.

I. On the question whether Hsu Fu and his party could reach Japan:

Your Objection—You thought, Hsü Fu and his party could not reach Japan, because China's art of navigation in the Ch'in time around Hsü Fu's days was still too primitive to accomplish such a gigantic feat of logistics of moving and supplying some 4,000 people for such a long distance.

My answer—I find that China's art of navigation then was not so primitive as you thought.

(a) Facts—In 484 B. C., King Kouchien of Yueh (Viet) started in organizing his naval fleet (Wu Yueh Chun Chiu, Bk. 9, Kouchien Year 13). In 482 B.C. (Kuo Yü, Bk. of Wu Yü, Fucha Year 14) King Kouchien ordered Fan Li and Hou Yung to command his naval fleet from his capital, Kuaichi (modern Shaohsing in Hangchow Bay) to go along the coast of the sea (because most of the land route was in Fucha's territory) and navigate upstream on the Hwai River to intercept the Wu fleet that escorted King Fucha of Wu to Huangchi (modern Fungch'iu north of the Yellow River in Honan) where Fucha attended an interstate conference and tried to capture the leadership of the league of States. For after the conference, the Wu fleet was to go homeward to Kusu (modern Soochow of Kiangsu) through the Grand Canal that Fucha had recently made connecting all the rivers between the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers. Hence Kouchien wanted to destroy the Wu fleet at the Hwai River junction. In 468 B. C. (Bamboo Chronology, year 1 of King Chinting of Chou), King Kouchien moved his capital from Kuaichi to Langya (south of modern Ts'ingtao) by means of pine rafts under the convoy of 300 armed ships manned with 8,000 daring seamen (Wu Yueh Chun Chiu, bk. 10). Again, in the book Shen Tzu, of which the author was a contemporary of Mencius, it is stated that a person could go to Yueh (modern Chekiang) by sea from Yen-Chao (modern Hopei) by sitting on the ship. That statement seems to imply that seafaring by private individuals were then quite common. It also means that navigation then was fairly advanced in technique. (see

Shinko pp. 59-60; D. R. no. 182, pp. 349-350).

Argument—Now the distance of coasting sea-route from Kuaichi to Langya is about 3/5 the distance of the sea-route from Langya to Chikuzen in N. Kyushu by coasting the Korean Shore up to Pusan and crossing the two or three narrow channels between Shantung and Korea and between S. Korea and N. Kyushu. Since Kouchien succeeded in the logistics of moving and supplying 8,000 seamen plus an untold huge number of civilians in 468 B. C. for a distance equal to 3/5 in mileage, Hsü Fu, after two and one half centuries' advancement in navigation, in 219 B.C., with the support of the Ch'in Emperor and actually spending "hundreds of millions" (as the Emperor later complained) should he able to move and supply his party of not more than 4,000 people in all, including the "youths," the "artisans" and the seamen, to a distance only 2/5 farther away.

Nor was it too difficult for Hsü Fu to find out how to go to Japan.

(b) Facts-It is generally agreed by modern scholars that Shanhaiking (The "Canon of Mountains and Seas") was a pre-Ch'in book. In it was recorded: "Kai State is on the south of Greater Yen. South Wo and North Wo belong to Yen" (see Bk. 20, Hai Nai Pei Ching). "Wo" means Japan or Japan's inhabitants. Yen, a State, was at first confined to a small area around Peiping in modern Hopei Province. But in the early part of the third century B.C., King Chao (311-279 B.C.) of Yen very greatly extended his domain. His General Ch'in K'ai conquered the lands of the northeastern barbarians for thousands of miles in area covering much of the modern Provinces of Chahar, Jehol, Liaoning and Kirin and Northern Korea (see Shih Chi Bks. of Hsiungnu and Chao-hsien, also 東三省沿革表, and 威京通志 Bk. 1). The new territory was known as "Greater Yen." King Chao also sent out an expedition to explore the East China Sea for the much talkedabout fairy islands of "Penglai, Yingchow, and Fangchang" for which King-Hsüan (332-314 B.C.) of Ch'i had sent an expedition to explore but failed to find them (see Shih Chi Feng Shan Shu the Bk. of Mountain Worship; also Shinko, p. 245).

Argument—To-compare all these three records and correlate them, it is apparent that King Chao's expedition to explore the sea for islands was successful. The explorers brought South Wo and North Wo into King Chao's new domain. They then were recorded as "belong to Yen." One Japanese scholar thought "Kai State" may mean South Korea, because "Kai" is phonetically near "Khan." "Khan," according to Emperor Kang-Hsi of the Ch'ing Dynasty of China, was the generic racial name for the South Korean

K

tribes (see 满州源流考 Bk. 1). If we accept that interpretation, then apparently the Kingdom of Yen under King Chao through military conquests and through expeditional explorations extended his domain to modern Manchuria, Korea, and Japan. An analysis of the second sentence of the Shanhaiking. statement will give us further light. "South Wo and North Wo belong to Yen." In classical Chinese statements, the order of which is first and which second, is always important. The order is always following a natural order of space, or time, or some other natural order. When in space, usually it is from near to far. When in time, the order is that of the order of events, and so on. Yen was in the north. On the mainland or on the peninsula, the order is always from north to south. But here on the Japanese islands, it suddenly reversed the order from south to north, as "South Wo and North Wo." It is significant. In going to Japan from Korean Peninsula, one almost always strikes first Northern Kyushu and then Western Honshu. The Yen explorers apparently had the same experience. At modern Moji and Shimonoseki, the strait is very narrow. As one goes on into the Inland Sea further eastward, the strait widened. Then the Yen explorers were sure that the Inland Sea was not a "bay" or a "gulf," but a sea separating the two islands south and north. When they saw the primitive ways of living of the Jomon culture savages of the isles, they must have laughed at the notion of "fairies" and "fairy land." The isles were no longer "Penglai" and "Yingchow" fairy islands. Thereupon they were renamed as "South Wo" for Kyushu and "North Wo" for Honshu. They then "belong to Yen" by reason of their exploration and discovery. So it was reported, and so it was recorded in the contemporary geography, "South Wo, North Wo, belong to Yen." The order stated followed the natural order of discovery.

Synthesis and Conclusion—Since Hsü Fu's Langya was erstwhile the capital city of King Kouchien of Yueh, the inhabitants having had the tradition of Kouchien's logistics in moving his capital by the sea route, and since the communication of Yen with Wo was only a matter of recent experience, Hsü Fu with his "hundreds of millions" to spend, should be able to manage successfully to move and supply his party of some 4,000 people from Langya to North Kyushu, and thence to Yamato. My dear Professor, in view of so many contemporarily recorded facts of pre-Ch'in time, wouldn't you think it reasonable to believe that Hsü Fu's party could reach Japan?

II. On the question whether Wu Pei's statement was reliable and whether "flat plains and great lakes" can be taken literally as landmarks of Hsü Fu's Kingdom:

Your objection-You thought. Wu Pei's words may not be taken literally

to be true. The "great lakes" may be just small ponds.

My answer—I have examined the case carefully. Wu Pei's words were reasonably reliable.

Facts-Wu Pei (c 195-122 B.C.) was born about 15 years after Hsü Fu's third voyage into the Eastern Sea (210 B.C.) in the near neighborhood of Langya. In his manhood, he was life-long in the service of the reigning Prince of Hwainan State also in the close neighborhood of Langya. He was the no. 1 man of Prince An's "brain trust". He advised the Prince on all matters, literary, political and military (see Biography of Wu Pei in Han Shu and Hwai Nan Yao Lueh). For more than 30 years, he was made the Chief Commander of the State militia or army of Hwainan. In his intellectual and scholarly attainment, he helped the Prince to write and compile the epochmaking book, Hwainan Tzu, which stands today as the most important philosophic work of early Han. When Prince An plotted to revolt against Emperor Wuti, Wu Pei deprecated his action. Wu Pei cited events that led to the revolution under Ch'in and also one incident of recent revolts in-Han, and gave the opinion that under Wuti, no revolt had any chance to succeed. Among the many events cited, he cited also Hsū Fu's expedition as an act of outwitting the totalitarian despot Ch'in Shih Huangti. Hsu Fu, according to him, actually led his party of 3,000 youths, attended with the services of hundreds of artisans of all trades, supplied with all provisions and seeds for food, and finally "took a place having flat plains and great lakes, made himself king there and never returned." When Prince An's plot became known, Wu Pei appeared at the Supreme Court of the Han Empire in a special tribunal and testified what he had said. The testimony was submitted to the Emperor for final sentence, hence it was also recorded in the Imperial Court records.

Argument—In his testimony, Wu Pei cited some ten events. Since all the other events were historically true, therefore, the details that Wu Pei gave (to supplement what was already given in the Ch'in Imperial Court record) of Hsü Fu's adventure, in view of the fact that it happened in his close neighborhood and in his own life time, were most probably true. Being a scholar of very high intellectual attainment, a statesman and the chief commander of the State army for a great many years, Wu Pei's ability to take information critically and correctly should not be underestimated. Americans all know well that a new colony planted in primitive islands needed constant purchases from the mother country to replenish the supplies not produced in the new settlements. The same should be true with Hsü Fu's colony. In view of the fact that so many early Han bronze articles have been unearthed

in Japan, it may be inferred that such purchases actually took place (see R. Morimoto's Study on Ancient Mirrors, all the mirrors with very small knobs were early Han or Ch'in mirrors). When the colonists returned to make purchases, the development of the colony became inevitably known to the mother country. Hence Wu Pei could authoritatively state the development of the Hsū Fu's Expedition after the third voyage. People from Langya to Hwainan at that time most probably all knew it but their knowledge had no opportunity to go into historical records. Only Wu Pei's statement came to the Imperial Court as an important document under Szuma Ch'ien custody. So it has been made known to us today.

As to whether "great lakes" could mean "small ponds", it might be possible with ignorant and uneducated people living near the Gobi deserts. But Wu Pei lived all his life in northern Kiangsu and northern Anhwai, a part of China where many lakes have had areas of hundreds of square miles. So it was very unlikely that either the informants or the informed or both could mistake small ponds for "great lakes". If the informants were indiscreet, Wu Pei, a very astute scholar, statesman and a very wary military strategist could very easily ask them "how big are the lakes?" So it was more probable that "great lakes" simply meant lakes that were actually large in area. Now beyond the East China Sea only two islands had both flat plains and great lakes, Honshu and Hokkaido, both in Japan. No other place has or had them. Hokkaido being inaccessible and too far in the north, Honshu is therefore the only place having such landmarks. Yamato, the central and the earliest civilized region of Honshu having a Ch'in type of Chinese culture archaeologically known as the Yayoi culture, coincides exactly with that topographical description. It was unique in the East China Sea. Who can dispute this fact? My dear Professor, won't you think that I am geographically well grounded in my supposition?

III. On the question whether Yayoi culture of Japan came directly from China and whether it came in the Ch'in time?

Your objections—You thought, Yayoi culture did not directly come from China but indirectly from Korea as an outgrowth of Chinese culture in Korea, and the time it came to Japan was not earlier than the first century A.D.

My answer—Yayoi culture in Japan could not have come from Korea as an outgrowth of Chinese culture in Korea because the artifacts such as pottery found at the earliest sites of Yayoi culture in Japan belong to Chinese types of earlier dates than those found at the earliest sites in Korea. The Yayoi pottery of Korea belongs to the Chinese Han type. The Yayoi pottery of Japan belongs to the pre-Han types. (for full discussion, see my paper YAYOI CULTURE — THE FIRST CHINESE CULTURE IN JAPAN, in "Chinese Culture" quarterly vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 132-135; or on the reprint, pp. 9-12).

As to the time of arrival of Yayoi culture in Japan, Prof. M. Goto (see Tsusetsu Nihon Bunkashi Taikei, 1956, vol. 1, p. 21) has confirmed that the time was Ch'in. Prof. S. Sugihara of Meiji University, Chairman of the Committee on Yayoi Culture of the Archaeological Society of Japan announced in March 1958 that a Carbon-14 dating test was made at the earliest site known of Yayoi culture in N. Kyushu, Itatsuke (near Fukuoka City) and the reading was 300 B.C. ±90. That agrees with Ch'in or Hsü Fu's time. My dear Professor, radio-carbon dating test does not give prejudged answers.

IV. On the question whether the Yayoi culture people were Chinese from China and whether they racially coincide with the people of Hsū Fu's party?

You have not raised the question. But the answer to it is essential to the identification of Hsu Fu's party with the Yayoi culture people. Hsu Fu's Eastern Expedition cannot be the same as Jimmu's Eastern Expedition, if the two were racially different. I showed you University of Pennsylvania Professor W. M. Krogman's statement (Information Please Almanac, 1958, p. 492) that Chinese and Japanese were classified ethnologically under the common name "Sinic", you spurned it as "worthless for proof." Perhaps you want a proof from Japan. In 1950, I first lectured on my findings in my study, the Japanese papers were interested, and reported. In the same year, the Japanese scholars organized a nation-wide anthropometric team including 16 university professors of anatomy geographically evenly distributed with their trainees to measure the university students all over the nation. Their work was subsidized by the Ministry of Education of the Imperial Government of Japan. In 1955, some 60,000 students had been measured both male and female who came from 280 different places all over the country. The measurements were carefully tabulated and analyzed and compared with those of the other peoples from the Malaysians and Micronesians and Australasians in the south to North-Eastern Asians in the north including the Burmese, the Thais, the Chinese, the Koreans, the Manchus, the Mongols in between. The final result of the study was as announced by the highest authority on Japanese ethnology, Dr. Kotondo Hasebe, that the measurements of the Japanese are the same as those of the Chinese of the provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu and Anhwei. These three provinces were the main territory of the Kingdom of Yueh (Viet) under King Kouchien who took Langya as

his capital, which remained as Yueh capital for nearly a century before Hsu Fu's time. So the pre-Ch'in Langya inhabitants were presumably from these three provinces. This fact again fully coincided with the anthropometric findings. Professor Hasebe theorized that the ancestors of the modern Japanese probably once lived along the Chinese eastern coast. Now it has been established that the Jomon culture people were anthropometrically different from both the modern Japanese and from the Yayoi culture people, and that the Yayoi people do not differ from the modern Japanese. Therefore we have this plain fact: The modern Japanese are similar to the people of Chekiang, Kiangsu and Anhwei. The Yayoi people were the same as the modern Japanese. Langya was the former capital of the people of the three provinces. The descendants of pre-Ch'in Langya inhabitants are very likely racially and anthropometrically the same as the present inhabitants of those three provinces (see my paper pp. 14-16 YAYOI CULTURE, or in the "C C" quarterly, vol. 1 no. 3, pp. 137-139). If A=B, B=C, C=D, then A=D. Therefore it is ethnologically proved that the Yamato race could be the same as the Langya race from which Hsu Fu drew the thousands of his party.

Such was my opinion fully confirmed by the specialist opinion of Professor W. M. Krogman of the University of Pennsylvania, which apparently was originally based on the nation-wide anthropometric measurements of no less than 60,000 university and college students by a nation-wide team led by 16 university professors of anatomy who earnestly worked for several years with their result studied, carefully analyzed and compared with all the neighboring races near and far, by such an eminent and foremost ethnologist as the professor emeritus of the Imperial University of Tokyo, Dr. Kotondo Hasebe whose life-long work was Japanese ethnology. But you say, you will give no credence to it. You are "still entirely unconvinced". My dear Professor. will you please give me and the world your secret strong facts and reasons for your holding such infinite confidence in your never-changing old concept and your infinite diffidence and defiance to any new concept? I feel sure that all students of Far Eastern history are as anxious as myself to get your enlightenment. The facts and reasons contained in the following passage are too weak and too inadequate for your purpose. There you said:

"If the culture were introduced by a massive colonization movement directly from China, why do the earliest Yayoi sites not have more attributes of Chinese civilization of that time—that is, iron, bronze, writing, and all the main artifacts of Ch'in society? Why do these things turn up only gradually over the centuries and usually in very adulterated form? The archaeological remains in other words speak strongly against the single massive colonization concept and for a gradual process of cultural

osmosis, in which the Hsü Fu legend then becomes a hint rather than a solid fact."

The facts and reasons you gave here are largely the same as Sansom has given in his latest book *History of Japan to* 1334. Here your doubts can be resolved into 6 or 8 big questions:

- 1. Was the Hsü Fu Expedition legendary or historical?
- 2. Were there enough main artifacts of Ch'in society as iron, bronze, etc. to justify such a supposition?
- 3. Why no Chinese language is shown among the Yayoi remains or in the Yayoi traditions?
- 4. What are the evidences of its being a single large massive colonization?
- 5. Why do the things turn up only gradually over the centuries and usually in very adulterated form? (actually 2 in 1)
- 6. Was the Jimmu legend fictitious and could Hsü Fu be Jimmu? (actually 2 in 1)

Let us solve these problems one by one.

V. On the question whether Hsü Fu's colonization was legendary or historical? You said, "Hsü Fu legend."

My answer-It will be more accurate to say "Hsü Fu history and Jimmu legend." For, while Jimmu appeared only in legends and myths, Hsü Fu however appeared in the most authentic histories in the Chronicle of the Ch'in Shih Huangti and the Biography of the Hwainan Princes both in Shih Chi. The former was compiled by Szuma Ch'ien from Ch'in Chi, the day to day recordings of the Imperial Court of the Ch'in Emperor of which Hu Mu Ching was then the Head Scribe, and later Szuma Ch'ien was the head custodian. The latter was also compiled by Szuma Ch'ien from the day to day recordings of the Imperial Court of the Han Emperor, of which his father Szuma T'an was the Head Scribe to which position Szuma Ch'ien succeeded his father later upon his father's death. So authentic was the event of Hsu Fu that it must be taken as seriously as the events of Ch'in Shih Huangti and Han Wuti because Hsū Fu's events were interwoven with the two Emperors and were recorded in the very same court records. However great an authority you may be on Far Eastern studies, no one can agree with you if you say these two Chinese Emperors were legendary persons! My dear Professor, how can

you say "Hsü Fu legend"? Indeed there were fairy stories told of Hsü Fu in China late in the time of Six Dynasties and Jo Fuku stories told in Japan in the late Heian and later time. But those were worthless fabrications with which I have nothing to do (see Shinko, pp. 364-374).

VI. Your problem of "main artifacts of Ch'in society", iron, bronze, pottery, stone and miscellaneous.

My answer-It is generally agreed among the Japanese archaeologists that Itatsuke was one of the earliest Yayoi sites in N. Kyushu and Karako was one of the earliest Yayoi sites of Yamato of Kinai. I have not seen detailed report on the former. The latter was the site of a Yayoi culture farming hamlet inundated at the bottom of a pond. Only buried artifacts can be unearthed. But not all ancient artifacts were buried. Except where some sudden great calamities occurred to a prosperous city, such as the sudden inundation of a city by some unexpected flood or the sudden burial of a city by some unsuspected eruption of volcano, where one could see all the things of every day use and many rare things of great value, which for want of time to escape remained where they usually were and often even with the skeletons of their owners found together. But in the case of the inundated farm hamlet of Karako pond, no skeleton was found. That shows that the inhabitants had known the coming of the danger, and escaped with all what they valued. In the pioneering days when the new comers had no time to find out where there were iron and copper mines in Japan, or yet had no time to exploit them, the metallic implements they then possessed were absolutely necessary to make their daily living tolerable. They could not part with them and let them be buried. Since they were not buried, so neither can they be unearthed. Yet the main artifacts of the Ch'in farming society are all discernible there.

a. Iron and bronze---Prof. S. Sugihara, Chairman of the Committee on Yayoi Culture of the Archaeological Society of Japan, a society of which all the well-known archaeologists of Japan are members, made the responsible statement (see TNBT vol. 1, p. 167) that from the very beginning of Yayoi culture, iron and bronze implements were used. It is obvious when one sees the remains of the wooden artifacts of which the making absolutely required the use of metallic saws, planes, chisels, and other metallic instruments. (For instance, the making of the lacquered carved wood ornament and the wooden ladles, dippers, spoons, and earth-pounders, unearthed in Karako would not be possible without steel carving tools.) Lately, according to Prof. Sugihara, an iron axe was discovered amidst many pieces of pottery of the Itatsuke type. That further proves that iron axe was in actual use in the Itatsuke days. In the Karako report, the three eminent archaeologists unanimously affirmed

that iron and bronze implements were used by the earliest Yayoi folks in Karako because (1) a wooden dish with a high stand broken was repaired with bronze pins in it, (2) a knife-handle made of deer's antler having rust remains on it, proves that the removed knife was made of iron, (3) an unearthed mould for casting bronze sword shows that the artisans brought there their tools for making bronze weapons, which proves that bronze was in use.

But why so few iron and bronze articles are unearthed? Because, before iron and copper ores were discovered in Japan, the early colonists had to depend on their metallic implements that they had brought over to make their pioneering life slightly easier. They therefore valued them above everything else they had in possession. They took very good care to save them, and could not let them be buried underground. The practice of burying metallic things could not begin before the settlers found iron and copper mines when metallic objects could be had in abundance.

- b. Wooden implements and implements of other vegetable materials—Many types of wooden implements as household and kitchen utensils (ladlers, dippers, bowls, dishes, spoons, basins, buckets, etc.), farming and builders' tools (plough-shares, spades, hoes, harrows, rakes, grinders, mortars and pestles, earth-pounders, earth-shufflers, etc.), wooden weapons (batons, spears, lances, forks, axes, mallets, hammers, bows and arrows, etc.) and ornamental wares (carved wooden canopy front, carved wooden flower vase, wicker-framed pottery, bamboo baskets, wicker baskets) were all unearthed in Karako. Most of these wooden, bamboo, and wicker things were used in pre-Ch'in, Ch'in, and post-Ch'in society. Many of them have continued to be used in the modern times. I used many of them when I lived on a farm. American missionaries stationed in the interior of China used them also.
- c. Pottery—I have seen collections of Oka River type of Yayoi pottery, and Karako pottery of types I and 2. For nearly all forms of Yayoi pottery found in the "Karako Study" (see Plates 20-37) we can easily find their Chinese counterparts in pre-Han China. Many of them were still used in China in my own days there.
- d. Stone implements---In China, even in the heart of Chao (modern Hopei) as in Shih-Chia Chuang excavation (Chinese Archaeological Journal, 1957, no. 1, pp. 7-11) or in the heart of Ch'i (modern Central Shantung) as in Cheng-Tzu-Yai excavation (see Cheng-Tzu-Yai Excavation Report) stone implements were found in the stratum of Ch'in Culture. They were apparently still in use with metallic implements among the peasants. The reason as far as I can find seems to be this: China had entered into iron age long before Ch'in.

But government monopoly caused inadequate exploration and exploitation of mineral mines that made iron and bronze artificially scarce. The poor peasants could not afford to use them, and had to resort to the new stone age stone implements as an alternative. But please note the exquisite workmanship shown in the case of polished stone swords, which tells the story that the makers were not the new stone age men.

Whether the reason I assigned is good or not, is another matter. The simple fact remains that in the Ch'in time polished stone artifacts were still many. In the Addendum I of my paper Yayoi Culture ("Y. C.", Addendum) I cited instances of 5 groups of 9 excavations where Ch'in artifacts co-existed with stone implements: axes, chisels, etc. Dr. Cheng Te-Kun, Lecturer on Chinese Archaeology in the faculty of Cambridge University, England, and author of The Prehistory of China, told me last year when he passed through here, that stone implements were used with iron and bronze throughout the 4 centuries of the Han period (202 B. C. - 220 A. D.). That was a startling statement to me who have not had opportunities to examine all the excavations of the Han cultural sites.

But I can tell my personal experience. When I first saw the pictures of the wooden, the pottery and sundry other artifacts in the two volumes of studies on the remains of the earliest Yayoi and early Yayoi cultural sites of Karako and Toro, I was overwhelmed with feeling to know for the first time that many forms of the wooden implements and pottery, bamboo and wicker baskets, reed mats that I personally much used at home in the earlier half of my life had long been in use so early as when polished stone implements of the new stone age co-existed. China as a nation was slow in industrial progress. Many forms of wooden implements and pottery remained unchanged into the modern time.

But now you question: "If the culture were introduced by a massive colonization movement directly from China, why do the earliest Yayoi sites not have more attributes of Chinese civilization of that time—that is iron, bronze, writing and all the main artifacts of Ch'in society?" Now, except the question of Chinese writing to be answered next, I am simply perplexed and at a loss to know what are the "main artifacts of Ch'in society" that you are looking for. So many artifacts unearthed from the excavation of the bottom of a pond in the farming centre of Karako seem to prove the abundance of Ch'in society artifacts in early Yamato. Why do you doubt? Do you feel that they were too primitive to be Ch'in? But many of them, in the forms as they are, have come right down to the modern times. I have used some in my time. Or, do you feel that they were too modern to be Ch'in? They co-

existed with stone implements of the last phase of the new stone age. Or, do you want to see more things of the Yamato Court? But Karako was only a farming site. The Yamato Court was a going concern. There was no reason for sending all of its valuables to the Karako farm to be inundated in order that we today may see them. Still there are enough things even to show the courtly origin of Ch'in time. for instance, the red lacquered wooden bow was well-known in Chinese classics as a kind of Royal reward to feudal lords of special meritorious achievements. The beautifully decorated pottery, some painted with classical designs, were family worship vessels of no mean households even in pre-Ch'in and Ch'in time China. They were found in a farm because the old Chinese tradition was that when high officials retired, they returned to farming life. If we add the sacred regalia of the Imperial household, which are now kept in shrines, namely a white brass mirror and three steel swords, and the hundreds of bronze daggers unearthed all over the entire area of Yayoi culture Japan, which were originally made in the Hwai River Valley in China, then we have already an enormous number of the "main artifacts of Ch'in society" of China. Would not that answer your quest? There was not a complete burial of any entire city of the Pompeii type in Yamato. Therefore you cannot expect a complete set of Ch'in society main artifacts among the remains from any excavation. Nothing can be unearthed, which had not been buried.

VII. Your question—Why no Chinese writing was found among the early Yayoi remains?

My answer—I have answered the same question already five times (Shinko pp. 132-133, 420; D. R. No. 183, p. 378; "Y. C." p. 11 and Addendum II, p. 1-2; "C. C." vol. I, no. 3, p. 134). Now, I answer it the sixth time. According to ancient Chinese tradition as found in the "Royal Institute" (Wang Chih) in Li Chi, the Chinese rulers should govern the natives of any place with their native language in accordance with their native customs and traditions. For that reason, apparently, both before and after Hsü Fu, the Chinese colonies elsewhere had neither the Chinese writing nor the Chinese spoken language. Please note well the following facts:

a. Chuang Chiao, a General of Ch'u, sent out by King Wei of Ch'u for conquests. He conquered Pa and Shu (both in modern Szechuan), Ch'ienchung (modern Kweichow) and Kunming (in modern Yünnan). These conquests were made in continuous wars of conquest for about 30 years (c. 330 B. C. to 300 B. C.). But from 299 B. C. downward Ch'u lost one by one its Pa, Shu, and Ch'ienchung conquests to Ch'in. Chuang Chiao found no road to contact Ch'u. He and his troops decided to stay at Kunming, adopted the language and the

custom of the natives there, established the Kingdom of Tian if, and enthroned himself as King. His descendant Ch'ang Ch'iang, King of Tian, surrendered his Kingdom to Emperor Wuti of Han and received the Emperor's investiture in 109 B. C. as "King of Tian" and "Governor of Yichow Province". Wuti sent two missions to Tian. The one was headed by Szuma Hsiang-ju, and the other by Szuma Ch'ien, the author of Shih Chi. King Ch'ang Ch'iang did not have a Chinese name and Ch'ang Ch'iang 當美 was a native name. His capital 貧崩城 was 4 miles north of modern Kunming City. But no Chinese writing has ever been found among the remains. The earliest Chinese writing found anywhere in the entire Yunnan Province was a Wang Mang coin unearthed near Kunming 貸兼 Hochuan, of which several have been unearthed also in Yayoi sites of Japan. The next earliest Chinese writing unearthed in Yünnan were bronze washing basins made in Yünnan with the copper mined from the copper mines of Tanglang Mountain. The dates they bear in their inscriptions were 84 A. D., 126 A. D., 136 A. D. The earliest inscribed stone bearing Chinese characters was dated 155 A. D. Now, Kunming was a Chinese colony since about 300 B. C. and became a part of the Chinese Province of Yichow since 109 B. C. Nobody has ever disagreed. It was recorded in all the histories. But the earliest Chinese writing found among the early remains was that of Wang Mang's day (9-22 A. D.) and not earlier (See 續雲南通志, 1901 edition, Bk. 151 全石).

- b. Ki Tzu, a Yin savant, received Chao-hsien (Chosen) as his fief from King Wu of Chou about 1121 B. C. That date has been corrected up-to-date by modern Chinese archaeologists to be 1028 B. C. His capital according to tradition was in the modern city of Pyōnyang and his mausoleum is still there. His Chosen dynasty lasted till 194 B. C. But within his entire domain in Manchuria and Korea, no Chinese writing has been found except the "ming knife" coins of Greater Yen between 300 B. C. and 222 B. C.
- c. Wei Man replaced the Ki Dynasty and established the second Chosen Kingdom in 194 B. C. His Dynasty lasted till 108 B. C. No Chinese writing has been found in Wei Chosen sites.
- d. Lolang or Lakliang Province, together with three other Chinese provinces was established from 108 B. C. onward for many centuries. Many cities were built by the Chinese. But no Chinese writing earlier than 8 A. D. (Wang Mang's Chüsheh Year III) in an inscribed lacquered wooden vessel. (see Lolang, studies of excavations report. University of Tokyo)

Such were the well known cases of which the history has never been doubted or questioned by any scholar. But all the same, for centuries of

their existence in primitive land, no Chinese writing has ever been discovered. Who can say that the recorded history was untrue?

As I see It, Hsu Fu, aside from the ancient tradition just cited, had special reasons for eschewing the use of the Chinese language, especially the Chinese writing. They are:

- (1) Under the prevailing political philosophy of his time, he believed that in keeping the people ignorant his realm will be much more easily governed. In eschewing the use of writings, the people are always kept ignorant.
- (2) By using the native language, not his Chinese language, he could spread his propaganda of his divine rights to govern the islands in asserting that he and his people all came down from Heaven by order of the Deities of the Heaven, that his ancestors were Gods in the Heaven. If he used the Chinese language, they would very soon be identified by the natives as invaders from China.
- (3) He outwitted the First Ch'in Emperor to get the extraordinarily great grant. At the time of his 3rd voyage, the First Emperor was still living. He therefore did all he could to camouflage the origin of his party in order to avoid being discovered by the Ch'in Imperial Government. If he were discovered, it would be the end of his Kingdom, he feared.

With these very strong reasons, he eschewed the use of the Chinese language, spoken as well as written. His policy proved to be very wise and far-seeing. If his origin were clearly known to the Chinese Empire, Japan would have suffered many a time what Korea, Vietnam and Kunming had suffered. Japan could have lost her independence more than once in the last 21 centuries.

My dear Professor, I know that you don't like my "conjectured" reasons. But, will you please explain to me why Ki Tzu, Chuang Chiao, Wei Man, and the Chinese adventurers in Borneo, Zulu, and Luzon, did not leave any Chinese writing for centuries of their presence in the lands of primitive peoples? If you can not, then please accept my explanation as understandable reasons. They are matters of ordinary common sense.

VIII. Your assertion-Facts "speak against the single massive colonization concept and for a gradual process of cultural osmosis".

My Answer—What do you mean by "a gradual process of cultural osmosis"? Do you mean, missionary work? All Japanese ethnological studies have agreed that the Yayoi culture people were ethnologically a different race from the Jomon culture people or peoples. It was obviously not a mission but an invasion. Or, do you mean unorganized individual infiltrations? That seems to be exactly what Professor George B. Sansom said in his newest book The History of Japan to 1334.

Both you and the Honorable and Gallant Sir George are great authorities on Japanology that I always highly respect. As an indication of my respect, I presented from Hong Kong my three Chinese volumes with my compliments in 1953 to you for your valuable comments, and my new English draft book in manuscript, The Birth of Japan, from the Philippines in 1955-6 to Sir George in England for his examinations and valuable comments. Believe me, I always respect the names of you and Sansom as great authorities in my field of study. But, my dear Professor, in science or knowledge, facts often speak louder than recognized personal authority. Sir Isaac Newton's authority had to be replaced by a persecuted Jew, Albert Einstein, when Newtonian physics failed to explain certain astronomical facts which the theory of the latter man could. But as soon as a certain principle in the Einstein theory failed to explain certain physical phenomena, there again the authority has to be modified by two Chinese lads, Yang and Lee. With all my high respect for the Sansom-R authority, allow me to place facts and reasons before you.

Sir George is an English peer, a historian of great distinction, certainly remembers well the history of another English peer, Sir Walter Raleigh. Sir Walter, between 1584 and 1587, with the Court support of Queen Elizabeth, made two thoroughly well organized attempts of massive colonization at the island of Roanoke off North Carolina. The first batch was a party of 108 colonists carried and supplied with seven big ships in 1585. The second batch was likewise sent out in 1587. But both batches, after arrival in the new world, disappeared forever with no clue whatever of their fate. They were well organized "massive colonization" attempts. They failed and perished (cf. Beard's Basic History of the United States, p. 5). Would Sir George say, as a distinguished historian, that Sir Walter made a mistake in organizing a "massive colonization", and had they gone as unorganized individual infiltrators, they might have succeeded as the Yayoi "cultural osmosis" succeeded in Jomon cultured Japan?

You are an American, a historian of great distinction, in this State of Massachusetts, certainly remember well the history of the colonization of

Massachusetts, and in particular, that of the Mayflower Pilgrim Fathers. The ship Mayflower carried 102 pilgrims, well organized under the captainship of Miles Standish, and carried a store of provisions prepared to face the rigors of the wilderness, and sailed in December 1620 from Plymouth, England, to Plymouth, Massachusetts. That very winter more than half of their members died of cold and scurvy (cf. Nevins and Commager, The Pocket History of U. S., p. 7). Would you, Professor, say as a distinguished historian, that the Pilgrim Fathers made a mistake in organizing themselves against the rigors of the wilderness, and had they come as unorganized individuals and with no provisions against "the rigors of the wilderness" but just attempting a "cultural osmosis" as the Yayoi folks did in Jomon Japan, the over half of their number could have saved their lives the first winter?

Now, please excuse me for wishing to know your magic formula in terms of plain language and common sense. Do you mean where well-planned and thoroughly well-organized "massive colonization" totally or half failed, unorganized individual efforts could succeed? How was that possible? The Pilgrim Fathers finally succeeded in Massachusetts not because they unorganized themselves. But because, in the following year another well-organized ship brought new settlers to reinforce them. Between that year and 1640, more than 20,000 of the sturdiest people of England left for Boston. No less than 1,200 ship voyages were made across the Atlantic with settlers, livestock, provisions and furniture (ibid. p. 12). It was "massive colonization" made increasingly more "massive", well-organized community made increasingly better organized that the colony of Massachusetts came into being and became a success. Harvard College thus came into existence. Had they adopted the Sansom-R magic formula of unorganized individual attempts of "cultural osmosis", the Pilgrim Fathers and the Puritanic Pioneers would have all perished to the last soul!

If two small "massive colonization" parties could not survive in 1584-1587 A. D., and over half of a "massive colonization" party could not survive in 1621 A. D., the "rigors of the wilderness" of the American Indians in the 16th and 17th centuries, how was it possible for less well-organized individuals to survive the "rigors of the wilderness" of the Jomon savages of Japan in the 3rd century B. C. who were far more backward in culture but no less fierce. For the American Indians had already developed the agriculture of Indian corn and yam for food and the art of spinning and weaving for clothing which the Jomon savages did not know anything about. But they had flint arrowheads as terrible as any of the weapons the Indians had. In thinking that Ch'in time Chinese could individually go there to perform the "cultural osmosis" and survive, you are flattering the Chinese as superhuman, and

Sir George is flattering the Chinese as super Englishman. But this honor, I as Chinese, have to decline for the Chinese who are just of the "common clay" and super-nobody. That was an impossible concept. In a situation where an English person cannot survive, neither can a Chinese! Yayoi folks survived, so they were massive colonization.

It took twenty thousand sturdiest English people to plant the colony of Massachusetts well on its feet. So, to think that the well planted Chinese colonies of North Kyushu and mid-Yamato were started by about 4,000 people, was not beyond reason. Up to now, 3 places in North Kyushu, 4 or 5 places in or near Kinai are found to be the earliest Yayoi sites. So they were perhaps over 4,000.

The earliest Chinese colonization of the Japanese Islands was carried as one single secret large-scaled massive colonization. It was entirely different from the colonization of America which was done in contrast, by many, open, medium-sized, well-organized companies of public recognition and knowledge. For so saying, I have the following facts and reasons:

(1) Because, Shih Chi the most comprehensive compilation of early historic records stated so.

In compiling the book which is now known as Shih Chi "Historic Records" but originally known as The "Book of the Imperial Scribe-General" (T'ai-Shih Kung Shu), Szuma Ch'ien the Scribe-General compiled all the historical records available in his days up to his own time of writing. His book covered a very wide range of events, big and small. So, we can trace, in Shih Chi, all the conquests, colonizations and explorations on the continent from (in terms of modern geographical names) Manchuria, Korea, Eastern Siberia to Central Asia, Afghanistan and India. On the sea, all the off-shore islands from Liaotung and Shantung to Hainan were accounted for (except Taiwan and Liuchia or Ryukyu Islands which were first explored in the time of Sun Chuan in 230 A. D. by The Wu Empire). Over the sea, he recorded three or four explorations (see Feng Shan Shu, The "Book of Mountain Worship"). They were sent out by (1) King Wei (378-333 B. C.) and King Hsuan (332-314 B. C.) both of Ch'i (modern Shantung) which ended fruitless; (2) King Chao (311-279 B. C.) of Yen (modern N. Hopei) which resulted in bringing "South Wo and North Wo" into the "Greater Yen" domain as recorded in Shanhaiking. (3) The exploration and expedition sent out by the First Emperor of Ch'in namely Hsu Fu's party. Hsu Fu went out with a company of no less than 4,000 persons and possibly no more than 7,000 (if the phrase "the male and female youths three thousand" meant "3,000 of each sex" not

"3,000 of both sexes", then plus "the hundreds of artisans" and plus the seamen of the carrying ships which were not mentioned but the condition and event implied). Hsū Fu's near neighbor and life-time junior contemporary, Wu Pei, later testified before the special tribunal of the Supreme Court of the Han Empire that "Hsū Fu got a place having flat plains and great lakes, stopped there, became king, and never returned" (see Biography of the Hwainan Princes in Shih Chi). Now, in Szuma Ch'ien's time, the overseas geography was not known. With that description, Honshu of Japan uniquely coincides and no other place was any way near that as modern geography can indisputably prove. Thus Shih Chi practically has informed us that Hsū Fu led a single secret large-scaled massive colonization movement and planted his colony in Honshu, Japan.

(2) Because, other events and other writings of Szuma Ch'ien's time in the 1st century B. C. confirmed it.

In the time of Emperor Wuti of Han, under whom Szuma Ch'ien succeeded his father Szuma T'an as Imperial Scribe-General, the fairy tales of the 3 fabulous islands of "Penglai, Yingchow, and Fangchang" were once more revived. The Emperor was greatly infatuated with the ideas of fairies and immortality, and with the procuration of immortalizing herbs and elixir. A courtier Tungfang Suo is accredited with writing the book, The Ten Islands in the Seas which said most fantastic things about the islands. That shows, no one really knew the geography of the islands of The Eastern Sea. All these facts speak for the truth of the records that Hsü Fu's colonization was a secret. The geographical location of his colony was never revealed. The mainland people did not know anything at that time about the islands where the Yayoi culture was planted and spreading. After the Ch'in destruction of books, Shanhaiking was then not yet recovered from hiding. Hence the geography was not generally known.

(3) Because when the early envoys were sent from the Japanese Isles to the Han Imperial Court, they were not known as from Chinese colonies, but as from unknown foreign countries.

During the Later Han period (25-220 A. D.) two diplomatic missions were sent. (a) The first was in 57 A. D. by ruler of the State of Na of Wo. The Han Emperor Kuangwu gave the ruler a golden seal (which was unearthed in 1782 A. D. in Naka, being the ancient State of Na, bearing five Chinese characters "Prince (of the) State (of) Na (of) Wo (of) Han." Nothing was said about the origin of that Prince. (b) The second was in 107 A. D. by the ruler of Yamato with a gift of 160 slaves. Nothing was said about the

origin of that state. Since the Han Court treated both envoys as from unknown foreign countries, and the envoys themselves never mentioned the connection between their State and China. Therefore, the Chinese origin of their people's culture, The Yayoi culture as known today, remained as ecret. As we know today, Naka was an early centre of Yayoi culture in North Kyushu, and Yamato was an early centre in Kinai. That again proves that the Chinese origin of their Kingdom was all the time a national secret.

(4) Because in the Book of Geography in Han Shu, "Wo Jen" (Japanese) were regarded as tribal states, not as Chinese colonies.

In Han Shu, Book of Geography, under the "Land of Yen", it is stated: "Beyond the sea of Lolang, there are over a hundred tribal states, (of which) some now and then came to visit and pay tributes." No mention was made about any one being a Chinese colony. That again proves that the Chinese colonization was done in secret.

Pan Ku, the author of Han Shu (Dynastic History of Han covering the period of 206 B. C.-24 A. D.) was a secretary to the then Prime Minister in the capital, Loyang when the "Prince of the State of Na of Wo" sent there his diplomatic mission. Both his father Pan Piao and his sister Pan Chao as well as himself were all great historians of contemporary history. Obviously he made use of his opportunity and enquired of the Na envoy about the situation and conditions of Wo in order to complete his "Book of Geography." Therefore, he can be said to possess the first hand information from a Wo envoy. Yamato then, though entirely proven to be a centre of Chinese culture, that is, early Yayoi culture, was just a state like the other native states. That agrees with the Nihon Shoki, because that legendary book states that for 9 generations from the time of the founder, Jimmu Tenno, Yamato did not expand. The Yamato Kingdom at the beginning was only a part of the modern Nara Basin. The Shanhaiking record "South Wo, North Wo belong to Yen" was probably a first hand record from the report of the Yen explorers. It was the first true and genuine geographical record of Japan. This Han Shu Book of Geography record was the second true geographical record from the report of the Na diplomatic mission. While both were reported as "Wo" or "Wo Jen," in the first report the "Wo" meant Jomon culture people or peoples, whereas in the second, "Wo" meant Yayoi culture people, people who differed racially from the peoples of the first report, but are the same as the Chinese of Chekiang, Kiangsu and Anhwai Provinces. For reporting the latter people to be the same as the former, that is, Yayoi as Jomon peoples, only secret colonization can be the explanation.

(5) Because, Wu Chih in San Kuo Chih gave the traders, report that their land Tan Chou or "Ch'in Isles" were Hsu Fu's colony.

This was the first time for Hsu Fu's colony to be definitely located. The report was so authentic that the Wu Empire after due deliberation finally dispatched 10,000 armed troops under the command of two Generals Wei Wen and Chuko Chih to explore for the Ch'in Isles in the Eastern Sea in 299 A.D. At that time, the East China Sea islands were known under two main group names: (a) Yi Chou or "Barbarian Isles", later called "Liuchiu (Ryukyu) Archipelago" that extended from Formosa in the south to Yaku in the north. They were then inhabited by savages having no civilization but practising canibalism. (b) Tan Chou or Ch'in Isles", The Japanese Isles under the Yayoi culture which was Ch'in culture. They were the only people then in the Eastern Sea who prospered on agriculture and high grade of handicraft industry. Their traders brought over to The Wu Empire in South China their own textile fabriques to exchange for the fine industrial products of Wu, of which the Wu bronze mirrors bearing the inscription of dates of Wu Emperor's Era-years, unearthed from the ancient tombs on either side of Yamato, Settsu and Kai, have proved their trading with Wu China beyond doubt. The two generals landed their troops on Yi Chou but stopped short of exploring for Tan Chou which, they were told, was "too far away" in the north. For the failure of their mission, they were given death penalty. This incident again emphatically proved the secrecy of Hsu Fu's party's colonization for many centuries.

(6) Because, Wei Chih in San Kuo Chih gave detailed report of the geography of the Kingdom of Wo and its political institutions and social customs seemingly of Chinese origin.

The fact that no direct statement was made to identify its origin, was again a proof of the secrecy of the Ch'in or Yayoi culture colonization.

(7) Because, in Hou Han Shu (dynastic history of The Later Han Period, 25-220 A. D., completely rewritten by Fan Yeh who died in 445 A. D.) Hsü Fu's colony, Tan Chou, was for the 1st time associated with Wo (Japan) on official record.

All the facts and events cited above, from (1) to (7), prove that the Chinese colonization which constituted the introduction and spread of the Yayoi culture in Japan, was done in one single secret large-scaled massive colonization, not as in America by many open small or medium-sized companies. The enormously large-scaled Hsü Fu Expedition that ended in colonization secretly

planted in the land of "flat plains and great lakes" was the only one recorded. There was no other. All the records of the first five centuries, 219 B.C. to 299 A.D., invariously pointed out to this one and single truth.

Furthermore, I say, the Yayoi culture was a large well organized colonization because there were enough evidences of their being under good political leadership, efficient social-economic organization with high specialization and advanced division of labor and high development of fine arts. At all Yayoi sites, there were many wooden works and wooden implements. That shows many carpenters of various training were among them. The beautifully carved work showed high grade of good artists. The many forms of pottery meant the presence of many potters among them. The beautiful decorative designs on the pottery and the beautiful paintings on some of them showed the existence of pottery artists. The many stone implements proved that there existed many efficient stone cutters. Dr. K. Nakayama discovered that different forms of stone implements were made at entirely different factories, which proved high specialization even in stone works. The beautiful stone swords made after the classical models of bronze and steel swords, were the work of stone artists. There was bronze-casting industry in N. Kyushu and in Yamato. There were spinning and weaving for clothing, house construction for shelter. The ploughing of fields, planting, harvesting of crops and the hulling of grains. were farmers of all-round experience. In the making of mats, baskets, bows and arrows, fishing nets, and what not, each required a special kind of skill. But above all, to make the persons of various occupations constant and industrious at their respective work, a good social order under able leadership was necessary. Therefore, I say, that there was a wise leader and effective good organization. Such findings all agree with the presence of artisans of all trades in the great adventure led by Hsū Fu.

IX. Your question—"Why do these things (attributes of Chinese civilization, or artifacts) turn up only gradually over the centuries and usually in very adulterated form?"

My answer—Your question itself confirms that in the beginning the colonization was an well organized large-scaled massive movement.

(a) The gradual introduction of Chinese things over the centuries, was the result of constant trading. To be able to trade, the traders must bring with them things or commodities that the Chinese in the continent would need, such as the cloths brought to the Wu Empire. The Jomon savages had nothing with which to trade. So, they could be the subjects of the Greater Yen but had no trade with the Yen people. The trading presupposed a successful colonization movement, which was not possible, as fully shown by the English

experience in the American continent, without a big-scaled and well-organized colonizing adventure body to get it started.

(b) "Usually in very adulterated form" was the result of the new native industry in an attempt to imitate and reproduce by themselves in Japan valuable articles imported from their mother country, China. They were "in very adulterated form" because they were imitations. That again presupposed a considerable period of peace and prosperity under good government, when both the consumers had the appetite to demand and the industrial workers had the ambition to get the business themselves and supply. Under social chaos, there could be neither the demand nor the domestic supply for them. The good government came from the initial good organization.

X. On the question whether the Jimmu legend was a fiction and Jimmu Tenno was a fictitious person.

Since Dr. Sokichi Tsuda wrote his books declaring that the chapters on the prehistoric period of Nihonshoki and Kojiki were all fictions, it has been in vogue in Japan to say that Jimmu Tenno was a fictitious person and his Eastern Expedition a fictitious story. But all we know is that that part of the Japanese history was legendary. Whether a legend was factual or fictitious, we in thousands of years after, have no direct means of knowing. But with the aid of archaeological excavations, we can compare the legendary stories with archaeological findings to see whether they mutually agree or not. Where they all agree, there was the high probability that the story might be true. Where they do not agree at all, then it could not be true. With this principle as our standard for guidance, let us now examine the legendary story of Jimmu Tenno.

According to Nihonshoki, Jimmu mobilized his entire naval force from his original capital in Hyuga with the intent of conquering the Mid-Isle region (Yamato) for his new capital. He led them first to Okaminado, the delta of Oka River in N. Kyushu. After a short stay, he advanced eastward first to Aki and then to Kibi and stayed on the way for several years with the purpose of making weapons, accumulating food, repairing ships and building more new ones for the conquest. In the 5th year, he finally led the well-prepared force eastward to as far as the Yamato River and landed. There he met with armed resistance of the Mid-Isle region. He re-embarked his force and went around the Kii Peninsula and finally landed on The Bay of Ise. He then marched his force organized into a men's battalion and a women's battalion. He led them through the mountain region and finally descended on the Mid-Isle region and captured it. There he spent two years to build his capi-

tal. The region was named "Yamato" ("mountain home"), the town was named "Iware" ("Our Rock Town"), and his palace "Kashiwara" ("Everlasting Wood Terrace Palace"). In the 8th year of his expedition, he enthroned himself as the Mikoto or "King". In the following year, he rewarded his aides, and gave them land as fiefs (all in the neighborhood of his capital, namely Sukisaka 縣族, Kumenomura 朱月, Takedanomura 孫母, Shiki 磯城, Kazuraki 黃城, and Kazunu 紫野. All these places were in the middle by south section of the modern Yamato Basin, a basin of 30 kilometres in length, and 6 to 16 kilometres in width. That section formed the first Yayoi culture community, of which Karako was a pond in a farming centre. That small Yayoi culture community was the "feudal monarchy" of Jimmu Tenno. It formed the earliest nucleus from which the later Yamato Kingdom gradually developed and expanded. From the Yamato Kingdom, the Japanese nation finally expanded into an Empire.

According to the same legendary story Nihonshoki, Jimmu's successor, the 10th sovereign Sujin, the 11th Suinin, the 12th Keiko, and the 14th Chuai one after another kept on extending the border of the Kingdom. Chuai's widow, Empress Jingo carried on the expansion movement overseas to the Peninsula of Korea.

Here is the greatest problem for controversy in the Japanese legendary history. Up to Chuai, the Japanese legend fits fairly well into Chinese historic records and Korean legends. But beginning with Chuai or Jingo, a great gap is shown. The events mentioned in the Chronicle of Empress Jingo covered a historical period in China and Korea of no less than 1½ centuries. It is apparent that the legendary narrator of Nihon Shoki assigned the events of 4 to 5 generations to this one: "regency" of Empress Jingo. Serious omissions occurred in the legend. The faulty memory of a narrator should not vitiate the truth of an event.

To return to the archaeological excavations of the earliest Yayoi sites, the Japanese archaeologists have agreed that the so-called Oka River style of Tadeyashiki pottery, was one of earliest styles made in Japan under the Yayoi culture. But they are found also in the Kii Peninsula Yayoi sites, including Ise, particularly in the Yamato Yayoi sites. That fact agrees with the Jimmu legend that Jimmu's Eastern Expedition started from Okanominado or "Okada Palace," and passed through Kii, Ise to Yamato. So that part of the legend probably had some element of truth. But no early Yayoi remains have been found in Hyuga after many excavations were made. So that part of the legend saying that Jimmu started his mobilization in his Takachiho Palace in M iazaki seems to be entirely fictitious. It seemed, the purpose was to camou-

flage the true origin of the party and to allege the divine origin of the family. Since the myth said his grandfather came down from the Heaven to a Takachiho peak of Hyuga. So to say that Jimmu started his mobilization from his Takachiho Palace in Hyuga was to make the mythical statement more real.

Now, Okaminado was in the modern Fukuoka Prefecture. Hsü Fu's Eastern Expedition should start somewhere around there, because when he came, the Fukuoka coast should be his first place to stop and to make the first temporary settlement. We have already seen that geographically, chronologically, archaeologically, ethnologically and historically, Hsü Fu was in all probabilities, the founder of the Yamato Kingdom. "Jimmu Tenno" was simply the posthumous honorary title conferred on him by his 46th successor. So, the Jimmu Eastern Expedition must be a true story, the legendary story of Hsü Fu's further expedition after he arrived at N. Kyushu.

The Sansom-R authoritative opinion was based wholly on a misconception of the nature and origin of the Yayoi culture. They are looking for the attributes of the Chinese civilization, for the main artifacts of the Ch'in society. But when they see them, they don't know them. They misconceived a process of gradual individual infiltration, the process of "cultural osmosis" into savages of the stone age level. But they have forgotten the teachings of the history of the American colonization and have not realized the infeasibility of their idea. Their hypothesis is everywhere in direct conflict with the contemporary records of the historic events and scientific findings. In other words, their opinion is everywhere contradicted by scientific findings and historical records. My dear Professor, your theory and Sir George's will not explain facts. Don't you think that such a notion needs an up-to-date thorough revision?

I realize how difficult it is for a person to change his habitual thinking. I am not surprised that you have not readjusted your thinking in this new way. It took the Japanese scholars several years from 1951 to 1956 to get readjusted. But this new conclusion is based on a synthesis of all scientific findings up-to-date. Anyone who dissents from this conclusion, has to produce facts to prove his reasons for dissent.

Sincerely yours

Tingsen S. Wei

Cambridge, Massachusetts May 28, 1959

Cambridge, Massachusetts June 9, 1959

Dear Mr. Wei:

I am flattered by the great effort you have made to convince me of your theory that Hsü Fu and Jimmu are to be identified with each other. Your letter of May 28, 1959 is a whole article in itself. The many implications in your letter that my failure to agree with you is because of stubborn prejudice, euphemistically referred to as my "magic formula", is somewhat less flattering.

I do not believe that I can be any more successful in explaining to you the basis of my skepticism than you have been in persuading me of the validity of your theory. Much of your evidence is archaeological or anthropological. I pretend to no special training in either field, but from reading and personal contact I do have a little familiarity with the way in which archaeologists and anthropologists reason and operate, and my impression is that you are jumping to conclusions which the archaeologists and anthropologists would not draw from the materials you present. Their extreme caution in drawing conclusions contrasts very sharply with your confidence in accepting as proven those theses which you wish to prove and which are not clearly disproven by the evidence.

On the use of historical texts, I am on somewhat more familiar grounds and am therefore confident in saying that you jump to what seems to me unwarranted conclusions. While I am more than willing to accept the basic validity of most of Shih Chi, the account of the Hsü Fu expeditions seems to me, for obvious and not at all magic reasons, to be one of the less reliable portions of that great work. But perhaps the greatest reason for my failure to go along with you on your theory is that, while I feel that there is little reason to doubt the existence of Hsü Fu as a real historical person (however suspect details of the account of his expeditions may be), I do not believe that Jimmu ever existed as a specific founder of a state in Japan and the leader of an expedition eastward from Kyushu to the later capital region. If he never existed, of course, it is hard to believe that he was Hsü Fu.

You will probably be even more surprised to hear that I do not feel that the question of whether or not Jimmu was Hsū Fu is very significant historically, however interesting it may be from a more romantic point of view. Whether Jimmu existed or not or whether or not he was Hsū Fu does not add significantly to an understanding of early Japan. All we really have for that are archaeological remains and much later mythology. Not until Wei Chih of

the third century A.D. do we have written materials that tell us much about Japan and, according to that valuable text, the Japanese were very different from the Chinese at that time. Not until the fifth or sixth century A.D. does any very broad or clear picture of Japanese society begin to emerge, and by that time there had been a great deal of Chinese cultural influence in Japan, but Hsü Fu's role in this, if any, had been long since forgotten.

Now I do not expect that you really understand my reasons for not being interested in the problem of Hsü Fu any more than you do my reasons for disagreeing with you about your theory. We obviously come to our historical studies with such very different interests and with such different assumptions that it is not surprising that we are not in agreement. It would be a pity, however, to let this lack of agreement spoil our relationship. I feel in your letter a strong tone of irritation with me for failing to accept your views. I wish that, instead of being irritated, you would give me up as a hopeless case from your point of view. Even though you have not convinced me, I am indebted to you for having brought a number of facts about Japanese archaeology to my attention. I trust that for your part you will consider me a friendly, even if not helpful, critic. We share a common interest, and it would be a pity to let disagreement over certain matters of interpretation spoil the friendly relations which should emerge from common interests of this sort.

Dear Professor R:

Sincerely yours,

Thank you for your letter of June 9, 1959. I welcome you as a friendly critic. I value your friendship, and I value equally scientific truth. Let us have friendship intact as friendship, and truth intact as truth.

I would gladly accept your criticisms (or those of any other scholar) if they agree with objective facts. You see, I accepted your idea that in the time of Hsü Fu, the navigators from China to Japan would most probably go along the Korean coast. But in the present letter, your criticisms do not agree with objective facts. They are your prejudgements. Allow me to point out the facts.

I. Re the Reliability of the Shih Chi Account of Hsü Fu's Events

Shih Chi has some accounts of some matters from doubtful sources. But in most cases the sources of information were well chosen. The two chapters having account of Hsü Fu's events were especially well known for being extraordinarily authentic and reliable.

The chapter, the Chronicle of the First Emperor of Ch'in, was based on Ch'in Chi, the Ch'in Imperial Court daily records, recorded by the court scribes, which the Han Prime Minister Hsiao Ho took from the Ch'in imperial archives and kept them in the Stone Library (Shih Chü Ko) amidst the Palace buildings of Han. Szuma Ch'ien was the Head Scribe of the Han Imperial Court and wrote from the Ch'in records in the "Stone Library Metallic Cabins" according to his own statement. Nothing could be more authentic and more reliable than that!

The chapter, the Biographies of Hwainan and Hengshan Princes, re Hsu Fu events, was based on Wu Pei's testimonial at the Han Supreme Court Special Tribunal, which was reported to the Emperor. Szuma Ch'ien as the Head Scribe was the chief custodian of the Emperor's documents. Wu Pei was Hsü Fu's junior contemporary (born about 15 years after Hsü Fu's 3rd voyage into the sea) and near neighbor (born in Chu State, modern Hsüchowfu, about 180 miles from Langya), an intellectual of the highest order (co-author of Hwainan Tzu, the greatest philosophical work of early Han) and the chief military commander and the foremost statesman of the Hwainan State for more than thirty years. From his time, place, position, responsibility and intellect, he was most well qualified to know Hsū Fu's doings. Wu Pei's trial was reported by Kungsun Hung, the Prime Minister, Twho only a few years before was the Dean of the Imperial College where and when Szuma Ch'ien was his student. Szuma Ch'ien's father was the Head Scribe and as such received the report for the Emperor. So Szuma Ch'ien knew the Wu Pei trial intimately all the way. Nothing could be more authentic and more reliable than this!

Now, you say that the Shih Chi account about Hsü Fu seems to you doubtful and not reliable. Your skepticism is therefore not based on facts but on your subjective, intuitive prejudgement.

II. Re the Reticence of the Japanese Archaeologists and Ethnologists

In Liang Shu, it was recorded that the Japanese were fond of claiming Wu Taipo as the ancestor of the Yamato Kings, he being a man much adored for virtue in China. In the 14th century, Yengetsu wrote again in the same tenor. He was declared guilty of blasphemy against the orthodoxy of the divine origin of the Imperial house. He was cast into prison and his book was ordered destroyed. In the 17th century, Tokugawa Mitsukuni the greatest leader among the Japanese historians, declared that to acknowledge a Chinese ancestor would be tantamount to acknowledging Japan as a satellite of the Chinese Empire. For 7 centuries, Japanese scholars have observed this tradition. The Japanese professors in Harvard who read my MSS and made corrections

to ceratin details have invariously asked me not to mention their respective names in connection with my books. It shows the same tradition still prevails in Japan today.

The Japanese present day archaeologists and ethnologists are very careful scholars. I have no doubt. But when you praise their reticence in not linking Yayoi culture with Chinese history as a mark of their carefulness, which they need not do to their own embarrassment, evidently you have not taken into account this important tradition of 700 years old. It is a jump over that fact.

III. Re Your Comment that I "Jumped" to Conclusions

In taking historical data, I not only try to exhaust all the available sources of information, but also try to scrutinize the trustworthiness, colaterally, backward and forward, often many steps in each direction. That is more than any scholar ever did on record. In doing that, I found out many things that were never known before. For instance, my syntheses of the history of the Principality of Hsü, the relation of Wu Pei to Hsü Fu, the cultural situation of Lang-ya at Hsü Fu's time, my point-to-point textual criticism of Hou Han Shu Wo Chuan and Wei Chih Wo Jen Chuan were all new to any reader. They were worked out for the first time. That fact shows that I have made no "jump" in handling my historical data. I have to correlate historical data with scientific data because I am studying history in a scientific age.

In taking scientific data, I collected exhaustively pertinent data from all sciences that I could possibly find. My data include those of geography, to-pography, chronology, genealogy, archaeology, technology, botany, zoology, agronomy, ethnology, ethnography, physical anthropology, chemical analysis, chemical physics, comparative lingistics, etc. When so many kinds of pertinent scientific findings are collected, examined, and found to agree with the one hypothesis, and none disagrees, then the conclusion is an inevitable logical one, not a "jump" to the conclusion.

I have written so laboriously and so systematically on these historical and scientific evidences. You have not examined them carefully, even. Without seeing the reason why, without weighing the numerous facts cited, by the simple process of contrasting the reticence of the Japanese scholars with my positiveness in establishing the probability of identity, you at once accused me as having "jumped". Your conclusion is indeed an unwarranted big jump, not permissible in scientific discussions, over volumes of cited facts.

IV. Re the Fictitious Character of Jimmu

From the historical and scientific evidences I have found out that Hsū

Fu's Kingdom as described in Shih Chi was by all probability in Yamato of Kinai, Japan. From its industry and trade, from its gradual spread of political influence, it was evident that he and his successors enjoyed many generations of good government and peace in Yamato which was at first a big village. It was the 46th successor Empress Koken that conferred on him the posthumous title, Jimmu Tenno (the Divine and Brave Emperor). Now you say that you believe that Jimmu Tenno never existed. Do you mean that Empress Koken never had an ancestor who founded the dynasty of which she was the 46th successor? Do you mean that Yayoi culture invasion never had a leader? I have written voluminously on this question to refute such an erroneous notion. Please read it. At present, only the Himeko-Yamato-in-Kyushu theorists are the loudest in making such a hypothesis. I have demolished that theory from its very foundation. It is entirely based on the textual errors in Wei Chih and Hou Han Shu. Please read my writings on that question again.

The Jimmu legend was a legend. As such, it was given with all the inaccuracies of legendary stories passed on from mouth to mouth. Inaccuracy is different from non-existence. A story may be inaccurately told and may yet be essentially a true story.

The Jimmu legend, in all its essentials, fully coincides with Hsü Fu's events from many respects—geography, chronology, ethnography, archaeology, etc., etc. Therefore the probability of the two being the same one person was so high that it approached certainty. I have cited volumes of evidence to prove it. The assertion that Jimmu never existed cannot be proved with objective facts. It is against facts.

The first Japanese scholar who asserted that Jimmu was a fictitious character is Tsuda Sokichi who thus theorized on the basis of certain fabrications in the story. But literary fabrications may have some true facts for background. For instance, Pearl Buck's the Imperial Woman is for the greater part of the book fictitious, yet the woman Yehonala was a true historical person having many facts as depicted. I challenged Tsuda and his follower Ienaga Saburo to prove by facts that Jimmu never existed. Neither of them can do it. You now again stand for their theory. May I also ask, please prove it with objective facts? Hsü Fu Jimmu to Japan is as important as Mayflower to U.S.A. in history.

This is a scientific age. Every thing we say should be supported by facts. Neither you nor I should get away with a theory that cannot be proved with objective facts. Logically a thing cannot be true and untrue in the same time. It must be either true or untrue. If you have no facts to support your belief, I can show you volumes of facts to prove my theory or hypothesis to be true.

As the Head of a Department of Harvard whose motto is veritas, will you please accept the scientific truth which you have really no facts to disprove? Your bias has been formed from reading Japanese theories based on errors.

Lastly let me quote here the last paragraph of the Foreword recently written for my book, The Birth of Japan, by Professor Reginald Ruggles Gates, F.R.S., of the University of London, England under whose name 353 scientific papers and books have been published since 1902, of which quite a few were on physical anthropology of Japan. He is going to Japan again next month to continue the anthropological study. His foreword goes on to say:

"It is notorious that whole systems of propaganda in various countries in the past have been involved in the falsification of history either by misstatements of fact, or more insidiously, by partial suppression of truth. One of the great merits of this work (The Birth of Japan) is that its approach both to history and to archaeology is completely scientific and unbiased. It can only be regarded as a major contribution to both fields, and especially as an exposition of a major fact of history which has remained obscure for over two thousand years".

I am presenting you with my compliments a copy of my review of the revised and enlarged edition of the book by Professor Hashimoto Masukichi, Ancient Japan Studied in the Light of Far Eastern History+. There you can see how the Himeko-Yamato-in-Kyushu theory was formed on errors of Hou Han Shu and wei Chih, more concretely, specifically and in point-to-point details. With so many facts before you, I hope that you can be satisfied that Himeko and Yamato were not in South Kyushu but in Kinai. When that is well established, then all the hypothesis to remove Jimmu Tenno and his successors from Yamato of Kinai to Kyushu and all the daring distortions of early legends with it become void. If you are not interested in Japan's history of the prehistoric period before Wei Chih, then you are certainly interested in the contents of this paper. If you still hold that the Himeko-Yamato-in-Kyushu theory is better than the Himeko-Yamato-in-Kinai theory, I shall be glad to receive your refutation point for point. Generalities will never settle arguments. Neither you nor I need be dogmatic, and we both seek for truth. Let us settle this point of your interest, since according to you your interest in Japanese history begins with Wei Chih Wo Jen Chuan.

> Yours very sincerely, Tingsen S. Wei

Book Reviews

A General Catalogue of Written Works on "Lao Tsu"

Comp. by Yen Ling-feng Taipei: China Series Publishing Committee

This is a very valuable publication. Lao Tsu's Taoism is profound and refined, with not only deep but also far-reaching influences in various directions. Hence, numerous scholars including those in Japan and Europe have had written commentaries on it, together with translations or connotations. The cataloguing on the collection of such written works may mean a colossal series of studies beyond thorough scrutiny.

Mr. Yen Ling-feng, the compiler of this catalogue, had made patient gleanings at home and abroad for many years, regardless of the tediousness, of all available publications relating to Lao Tsu and thus produced a vast volume of them. It is a very convenient tool for those who intend to study the Taoism with circumspective interests. It is, therefore, endowed with a high purpose in facilitating East-West cultural interflow.

Author Yen, a native of Lienkiang County, Fukien Province, is a graduate of the Far Eastern University in Moscow. His original field of study was economics, but later his hobby had turned it into researching of Lao Tsu's works. During his spare hours in the midst of administrative chores, he also wrote many books through such an academic pursuit. The present work is one of his latest publications.

Mr. Yen issued "A New Edition of Lao Tsu's Literary Passages" is 1944, which was reprinted in 1952 and 1954. For its appendix, as a collection of reference books, he had successively added to it in the subsequent revised editions many new discoveries from the soil of Taoist publications. The present catalogue was since then developed out of the former appendixes.

This general catalogue is divided into three volumes. The first of them consists of a glossary of annotations; the second, commentaries; and the third, commentaries by foreign writers, together with a series of forewords and re-

marks. Such an arrangement for its classification obviously was motivated more or less by adapting the materials to voluminous spaces. Otherwise, if they were arranged in accordance sheerly with their natures, the whole work should be, in the present reviewer's opinion, divided into the following categories:

- A collection of commentaries on Taoism by Chinese writers, consisting
 of the whole of this work's first volume and the first and second sections of its second volume;
- A collection of interpretations by foreign writers, consisting of the 1-4 sections of its third volume that should enlist the works of Japanese, European and American authors concerned;
- 3) An appendix consisting of the 3-5 sections of its second volume and the 5-7 sections of its third volume—concerning biographies, verification writings, verses and eulogies, references, prefaces and remarks, and other appendixes as in other words they are all documents indirectly related to the works of Lao Tsu.

According to the author, this vast catalogue contains more than 1,600 articles on Lao Tsu; yet in the present writer's view, the actual number is rather less than that, because the compiler had split some one article into two or more figures following a variety of its classification. The keynote for arrangement of these 1,600 items stresses the division of them into two main categories as of original studies and commentaries, and then presents them in accordance with their periodical order. Other compositions which cannot measure themselves up to the fore-going standards, such as fore-words, remarks, and forgeries of Lao Tsu's works, together with other simple topics without the need of detailed classification such as the studies of some Western scholars on this line, are all grouped into one category according to their periodical order with sub-divisions based on state demarcations.

The so-called "original studies" and "commentaries" according to the compiler's view, as stated in his preamble, are classified thus:

"To the first category are designated such works as specialized articles or remarks of perusals ascribable to annotation, interpretation, verification, correction of prints, rearrangement of passages, or semasiological studies of Lao Tsu's works; whereas to the second are such works as kickshaws, biographies, panegyrics, and all other frivolous compositions. Those articles which may seem endowed with amphibious characteristics are classified in accordance with their stressed points."

Such an arrangement of the voluminous works on Lao Tsu's philosophy is clear-cut and simple while embracing with ease the comprehensiveness of its domain. However, it is but a parallel presentation of the two categories of them without a definite criterion for their classification in logical standpoint. Hence, when used as a reference book, it often puzzles the reader as to what division any one article should belong. For instance, "The Philosophy of Lao Tsu and Chuang Tsu" by Professor Wu Kang should have been put into the second volume as a commentary according to the present reviewer's opinion.

For the purpose of avoiding perplexities in designating the nature of such works, the writer suggests a standard based on the "contiguity of dissertations to the original text of Lao Tsu." By this criterion, all such studies may be classified into three categories; namely:

- Those works that were wrought upon the original text of Lao Tsu, such as annotation, connotation, etymological clarification, ideological verification, and correction of print or copying, belong to the "Interpretation Category."
- 2. Those that were designed to explain, discuss, criticize or propagate Lao Tsu's doctrines not in directly involving with the original work, should be classified under the "Discussion Category."
- Those articles that were not only detached from Lao Tsu's original text in form but also in substance, such as biography, eulogy, introduction or remark and cataloguing, etc., may be classified under the "Testimonial Category."

Under each of the afore-said main topics, many sub-titles may also be shaped in accordance with the characteristics of the collection. In case it is not advisable to make sub-divisions, most of the articles then might be arranged according to their periodical order. By this method, any one of the works on Lao Tsu might be ascertained promptly in a clear-cut manner without unwarrantable dilemma. Such a suggestion of the reviewer is offered for Author Yen's consideration.

Next, our discussion comes upon the content of the author's collections. Aside from those books and other articles published in European and American languages, some of which might have been left out due to limitation of environmental factors, his painstaking collections are abundant and practically allembracing of such documents, both ancient and current, as gleanable in China. All books concerned naturally are included; sporadic articles appeared on newspapers and magazines are also recorded in the catalog. It, furthermore, has

even kept the track of such publications on Lao Tsu trickled through the Iron Curtain. For instance, "A Modern Interpretation of Lao Tsu's Doctrines" by Jen Chi-yi (a lecturer in the Philosophy Department of the Peking University before the Communist coup in 1949), as appeared in a series in the Red Kwanming Daily News was also picked up.

As the compiler had spent many years in Japan, he was well acquainted with many Japanese sinologists in the field of Lao Tsu research. Hence, his collection in this respect is comprehensive, too. Such a merit is exclusive to all other Chinese students of Japanese works on this line. This, indeed, is a precious contribution to the study of Lao Tsu.

Under each of the related books or articles, the compiler has listed not only the "number of its volume," and the "date of writing or publishing" but also the "author's name with brief reference" and a "synopsis of its content." Among these four appendixes, the last is most valuable. It also needed most painstaking job for adequate presentation. It is the most valuable, for by looking over this synopsis one may get some general idea or characteristics of the related subject. It required the most painstaking job, for before the compiler made the excerpt of a book or an article, he must peruse it himself with sufficient comprehension of its theme. Regarding ancient works in this field, he may have availed himself of such documents left by former commentators, or else left them blank for lack of reference. But as to current publications, he must read them over without negligence.

Therefore, ever since the author had decided to compile such a catalogue, he must not only pay close attention to periodical publications on Lao Tsu but also peruse them regardless of their merits. This job may be frivolous, yet tremendous in consideration of energy. Taken as a whole, such compiling work needed a lot of care and patience. Especially so in this war-stricken age when handicaps have been rife around the corner, it is not easy for any one to tackle such a tedious pursuit with fruition. The author is highly commendable for his perseverance in completing the work single-handedly during his spare hours in the past several years engaged in public service.

Nevertheless, regarding the quality of this catalogue, it may be said as yet pertaining to its crude stage. It is not a refined and final manuscript. This observation may be evidenced by the compiler's acknowledgement that "its revision and supplementation require the cooperation of scholars with the same taste of study."

Besides, as the research and written works on Lao Tsu's principles are

proceeding along as time goes on, the compilation of such a catalogue should also be keeping on the track with periodical supplements and possible revision. In this regard, the writer wishes to offer some suggestions in the hope that the author may take them for reference at future:

- 1. Saturating the Collection in Its Western Division:— In regard to the Western works on Lao Tsu, the present cataloguing is rather slack possibly due to circumstantial limitations. Nevertheless, as academic research bears no state boundary line, some Western sinologists have also remarkable achievements following the accumulation of efforts in the past several hundred years; particularly in the wake of the last two World Wars, many Occidentals had paid keen attention to the principles of Lao Tsu, which resulted in prolific publications in this field. Their works should never be slighted over by Chinese scholars on this line. Still more important are their new discoveries from novel standpoints as envisaged through the cool observation as by onlookers. Hence, it is hoped that in future revision of this catalogue, the author would make up a thorough compilation of the Western works in this field so as to make it completed.
- 2. Adding Indexes to It:— Any and all catalogues of books should provide facilities for their readers. For this purpose, it is hoped that the present compiler of such a voluminous work will adopt the modern method of making indexes for the titles of books and the names of authors involved. It will expedite the readers not only in approaching various authors concerned but also, under the index of authors, in easily comprehending how many kinds of publications any one author has had.
- 3. Clarifying the Quality of Publications:— The cataloguing work as usual may have been satisfied with recording any and all publications that have caught the compiler's attention. However, there may be a big difference in the quality of various works: some of them are immortal as they are distinguished by excellent presentation of views resulted from tremendous research or meditation; others may have been mere pot-boilers or warmed over humdrums concocted in a haste to fulfill the demand of some editors. In this respect, common readers may not know their contents and can hardly make adequate choice for the refined in lieu of the crude ones. For the purpose of bringing up the younger generation of students in this field, it is hoped that the author would move forward (as more than a common cataloguer should do) to make some clear comments on each and all of the listed books or articles concerning their merits or demerits.

The fore-going suggestions may be simple as a proposal, but rather on-

erous when put to actual practice; especially, while tackled single-handedly by any one man, it may be beyond the possibility of getting well done. It would be an ideal undertaking if this job could win the support of some research institute with all the hopes realized.

Finally, there is one more word to this critique: the reviewer wants to thank the author for such a fine book that has greatly facilitated the former's lecture of "A Study of Lao Tsu" in the Taiwan Provincial Normal University in recent years.

Reviewed by Chang Chi-chun, Taiwan Normal University

Translated by Chen En-chen, National War College

Essays on Chinese and Thai Cultures

By Ling Shun-sheng and others

Taipei: China Cultural Publishing Foundation, 1958.

This Symposium contains 13 essays and an Appendix, the "Bibliography of Chinese Writings on Thailand" prepared by the National Central Library. Of these essays, two are on the racial relationships between China and Thailand, three on their historical and cultural relations, one on their geographic relations, two on economic relations, three on cultural, ritual and educational systems in Thailand and two on the immigration of Chinese to Thailand and their contributions to that country. The readers can readily learn from these essays how closely inter-related are the historical and cultural relations between these two countries.

The former official name of Thailand was Siam. A brief description of the country is found in the "Chronicle of Foreign Nations" in our History of Ming Dynasty, Vol. 324, as follows:

"Siam is located southwest of South Annam and can be reached in ten

days if the wind is favorable. It was called the Kingdom of Ch'i-t'o (未上) in the Sui (589-618) and Tang Dynasties. Later on, it was divided into two kingdoms, Siam and Lavo, and the former sent annually envoys to pay homage to the court throughout the Yuan Dynasty. Still later on, Siam was conquered by Lavo and there emerged the Kingdom of Ayuthia. In the 11th year of Hungwu Era, its King Boromoraja sent his son to pay tribute to the court and gladdened by this, the Emperor sent Wang Hung, Secretary of the Board of Rites, to confer an imperial mandate and an official seal engraved with the words "The seal of the King of Siam" on the King, together with clothings and cash rewards on his son. Henceforward, the Kingdom has been named Siam in observance of the imperial mandate."

In 1767 (the 32nd year of Chien Lung Era of the Ch'ing Dynasty), Thailand was invaded and occupied by Burma. The King fled from the country before the enemy and no one ever learned about his whereabouts. Fortunately, Tak Sin, a young army officer of Chinese stock, was then able to rally his countrymen to recover the land in less than six months through a successful counter-attack. He was made King by the people and moved the capital to Thomburi, thus laying a firm foundation for the present, well-governed Thailand.

Comprehensive and summary accounts of the historical development of Sino-Thai relations and the contributions made by Tak Sin and the Chinese immigrants in Thailand to that country are given in Han Li-wu's The Development of the Diplomatic Relations between China and Thailand, Li Fu-I's The Influence of Chinese Culture on Thailand, Hsu Yu-su's The Genealogy of Tak Sin, King of the Dynasty of Thomburi of Thailand. After describing the historical facts of Sino-Thai relations and the influence of Chinese culture on the language and 'iterature, the system of government, and the daily life of the Thai people, Li Fu-I points out in his conclusion that what Thailand displays in her spiritual life is Buddhism from India, what she displays in her physical life is the civilization of the West, while the influence of the perfect way of Chinese culture reaches the bottom of the heart of every member of the Thai nation.

Ling Shun-sheng's The Racial Relationships between China and Thailand and Jui Yi-fu's The Races of Thailand dissect the components and the development of the Thai nation, and from the viewpoint of ethnography explain the relationships between the Thai people and the Chinese people in their origin. On the authority of the historical facts in the chronicles and the studies in the fields of anthropology and philology it has been found without doubt that the Thai nation belongs to the Tai-Shan branch of the

Sino-Tibetan family, and was one of the three great nation groups of ancient China. Since the Hwa-hsia group had assumed the hegemony in central China, the Tai-Shan group emigrated with the Miao and the Yao tribes to the south, and dwelt among the earlier native Indonesian tribes. These settlers and the native tribes assimilated each other and cooperatively developed the main current of the southern civilization of China. Ling points out in his article that in the origin of their nation, in their immigration and settling in the south, and in the founding of their country and dynasties the Tai-Shan people were closely interrelated with the Chinese people, and the civilizations of these two peoples have nourished and assimilated each other, and that the whole history of the Thai nation cannot be separated from that of the Chinese people.

It has been an open question whether such countries as Nan-chao (南波) and Ta-li (大理) were founded by the Thai people. In their respective articles Ling and Jui unanimously stated that the assertion that these countries were founded by the Thai people is in contradiction to historical facts. According to Ling's judgment, the people of Nan-chao belongs to the Ko-Lo (保備) group, or to a branch of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily, not to the Tai-Shan branch. Jui points out that Meng, the founder of Nan-chao Kuo (南龙属), was a Wu-man (烏蠻), now called Ko-Lo (保備); that Cheng, the founder of Ta-chang-ho Kuo (大長和國), was a Chinese; that Chao, the founder of Ta-tien-hsing Kuo (大長和國), Yang, the founder of Ta-yi-ning Kuo (大美军國), Tuan, the founder of Ta-li Kuo (大理國) and Ho-li Kuo (後理國), and Kao, the founder of Ta-chung Kuo (大中國) were Pai-man (白蠻), now called Ming-Chia (民家). All of them were not of Thai stock. However, not a few of the subjects of such countries were Siamese.

Li Kwang-tao's The Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties and Siam, Liang Chiapin's The Influence of the Foreign Trade of Kwantung in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties on Modern Sino-Thai Relations, and Cheng Ching-ho's The Foreign Trade of Siam and the Chinese Immigrants in the 17th Century deal with the close relations between China and Thailand, with their arguments based on historical facts. These essays are all of great academic value, and are explanatory and complemental to one another. Being wealthy and strong, China always acted up to the precept that all nations under heaven are one family, and never had the intention of encroaching on her neighboring countries. Li Kwang-tao makes mention of the significant fact that Thailand asked China to despatch troops to invade Japan to the relief of Korea in 1592 (the 21st year of the Wan-li Era of the Ming Dynasty) when the last mentioned had been overrun by the Japanese. This fact shows the intimate relations between China and Thailand in the past. As the mission

of the envoys sent to or from either government was to promote the friendly relations between the two nations and to take charge of the commercial affairs, and China was always ready to give generously in dealing with her friendly nations, the economic status of Thailand certainly derived great benefit from China. After discussing the relation of the Mandarin's Merchants (or the Thirteen Hongs $+ = \hat{\pi}$) of Kwantung to the founding of modern Thailand and the emigration of the Chinese to that country, Liang Chia-pin very properly points out that the trade and the communication between Kwantung and Thailand were really the origin of the wealth and strength of modern Thailand.

Wang Yi-ai's On Sino-Thai Relations from the Geographical Viewpoint with its twenty-three illustrations gives a vivid picture of the political as well as the physical geography of Thailand. Wang states that the Isthmus of Kra, which lies between the South Sea and the Martaran Sea, less than forty miles wide, is the narrowest part of the Malay Peninsula. If a canal is built there, these two seas will be connected, and there will be no more necessity for the ships to go round Singapore. For the benefit of the shipping business of the world, the idea of building the Kra Canal will surely be realized some day. With the appearance of this canal, Thailand will occupy an important position on the sea route between Europe and Asia, and the traffic between China and Thailand will increase greatly.

Chang Kwang-chih's The Prehistoric Civilization of Thailand, Tseng Chienping's The Religion, the Cultural Features, and the Ritual of Thailand, and Cheng Wen-teng's The Education of Thailand are all intended to explain the established institutions and the spirit of Thai culture. Among the rest Tseng's article is one of considerable merit, as it treats at length the traditional spirit of the history and culture of Thailand. Besides giving an account of the cultural relations between China and Thailand, Tseng points out that the culture of Thailand, though in its content there may be found the influence of Brahmanism from India, the extension of Chinese cultural tradition, and the changes resulted from the effect of European or American way of life, is still unique in its substance, spirit, and forms, with its foundation lying in the fact that the Thai people's character and their belief in Buddhism have blended naturally. The Buddhist thought and the unique cultural system of the Thai people are exclusive by nature. By virtue of this quality of being exclusive they absorbed some thoughts and institutions from Chinese culture, but were not assimilated by them; they likewise absorbed some thoughts and institutions from the western countries, but they were not assimilated by them, either. This is the formidable force produced by the Buddhist thought and belief of the Thai people. This also accounts for the fact that, though there were unfledged Communist organizations in her domain as early as thirty years ago, Thailand has suffered no disturbances or upheavals that trouble her neighboring countries.

As this symposium is a collection of essays written by ten-odd authors, some statements in it, indeed, are found to be repetitious, some too brief, but it helps the readers to recognize clearly the cultural relations between China and Thailand nevertheless. It contributes much to the studies that are intended to promote the cultural relations between these two countries.

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The History of China's Labor Movement

Edited by Ma Chao-chun,
Taipei: Chinese Labor-Welfare Press, 1959. 5 vols.

The compilation of this monumental work has taken the toll of wisdom and energy of more than one hundred specialists for a period of four years. Consisting of eight books, it is divided into two big volumes in its de luxe edition, or five volumes in the plain shape.

Proudly presenting a detailed account of the 63-year span of the labor movement in China, this vast history contains more than 1,600,000 words in 2,293 pages. It is highly valuable as the main reference thesaurus, especially for those studying the Chinese labor problems as well as those interested in the Chinese labor legislation.

Mr. Ma Chao-chun, Chairman of the Editorial Board of this work, has been an ardent promoter of this project since 1933. Being himself a mechanic in the United States before 1905, and having sponsored the Chinese labor movement since then in the past 50 odd years, Mr. Ma has, in the edition of this history, enlisted the knowledge of such current labor leaders as Chou Hsueh-hsiong, Liang Yung-chang, Lu Kin-shih and Shui Hsiang Yun, together with the service of such social workers or intellectuals as Pao Huakuo, Chang Tien-koi, Hsieh Chen-fu and Chen En-cheng. In gleaning for materials, they have looked into the books and newspapers kept in all libraries of major universities and government organizations concerned as well as the archives of the KMT Party History Compilation Committee and the

Labor Department of the Interior Ministry. Through diligent studies and comparative research for authentication of all related records, their presentation of facts, occasionally strewn with remarks, savors of high scholarship yet sprinkled with dramatic accounts of sad and heroic fights of many labor martyrs sacrificed in some momentous national campaigns. Being circumspective with ample references, it is an accurate history of the Chinese labor movement.

The stupendous written work was compiled purely in chronological order, with labor problems and massive events interwoven under the annual headline. It relates the 63-year labor movement from the overthrowing of the Manchu monarchical regime in China down to the fighting against the Communist invasion of the mainland. In its introduction, it gives detailed explanations on the social background from which Chinese labor issues evolved with political complications. It also takes notes of the features in the movement with a candid analysis of the malady, from which the Chinese labor had suffered deeply such as: (1) the perennial political chaos, (2) the oppression of foreign imperialism, and (3) the frantic inroads of Communist labor schizophrenic campaigns.

The history has in its chronological order divided the entire flow of the Chinese movement into nine stages as follows:

1. From 1894 to 1911, that marks the end of Manchu regime, and the birth of the Chinese Republic—

The record shows how overseas Chinese workers returned to their fatherland in response to the bugle call of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and organized themselves with their brethren at home in furthering the Nationalist revolutionary campaign which resulted in overthrowing the monarchical regime. Among many armed revolts, the Canton uprising of March 29, 1911, and the Wuhan battle of October 10 in the same year were the most outstanding feats of their movement.

2. From 1912 to 1918, in the fight against warlords at home and imperialistic oppressions from abroad—

The history relates how those patriotic laborers in Shanghai, Hankow, Canton, and those in such nation-wide organizations as the Chinese Sailors Union and the Railroad Workers Association had helped defeat the monarchical coup d'etat of Yuan Shih-kai and the tyrannical rule of warlords in various provinces.

3. From 1919 to 1923, in the main current against the Japanese economic-political invasion-

The history recalls how since the remarkable "May 4th" movement the Chinese laborers had stepped up their anti-Japanese campaigns, especially in Shanghai where Chinese workers in Japanese cotton mills had staged frequent agitations for betterment of their treatments; there were then the mechanics' strike in Canton and the immense strike of the sailors around Hongkong, there were the "January 7th Incident" in Hunan and the "February 7th Incident" along the Ping-han Railroad, in which the trade unionists had staged various demonstrations against the oppression of foreign imperialism while labor organizations throughout the country were booming up in response to the call for collective action.

4. From 1924 to 1927, in the critical moment when there was the need of waging the pitch battle against the Northern warlords at home and the foreign imperialism closing in from several directions—

The historical record shows, since the "May 30th Incident" in Shanghai, with the furious labor strike followed up by vehement responses in Canton and Hongkong, the Chinese organized workers then in nation-wide movement had pushed their way forward in aiding the Nationalist armed forces to accomplish the historic Northern Expedition, which wiped out the warlords and unified the country under the KMT party rule. With the self-confidence of organized ability thus reassured, most of the trade unions throughout the nation had tended to strengthen their structure as well as their moral force.

5. From 1928 to 1931, when the fight against imperialism was keeping hot-

The labor organization in Shanghai staged a big strike demanding improvement of treatment for workers in the British Tobacco Factory; whereas the Japanese invasion of the Shantung peninsula, with the glaringly outrageous commitment of the "May 30th Incident of Tsinan," had also aroused the nation-wide boycott of Japanese goods, together with many other types of labor agitation against the Japanese aggression. Meanwhile, the Labor Federation of China had seen fit to widen its scope of activities by sending delegates to the International Labor Conference. The "September 18th Incident" with Japanese invasion of Manchuria had further prodded the Chinese laborers both at home and abroad into strengthening their joint struggle under the Nationalist Government against the imperialism.

6. From 1932 to June 1937, in the midst of continued strife against Japanese invasion—

The Chinese labor movement had stiffened its formidable force on the one hand in facilitating the Government's fight as in the famed "January 28th" resistance battle in Shanghai area; and, on the other, in helping settle various capital-labor disputes in the interests of the national cause; and, furthermore, in promoting labor legislations which resulted in the enactment of the "Minimum Wage Law", the "Mining Law", and the "Regulations Governing the Labor Contract."

7. From July 1937 to August 1945, during the national crisis in the Resistance War against Japanese aggression—

The Chinese labor movement in this stage had marked down the most brilliant episode so far in its history. Practically all workers, except some fractions under the communist control, had concentrated their efforts to the national mobilization both on the front and in the rear, with their brethren from abroad coming home and joining them in economic production or military service, thus keeping the war going on strong despite many frustrations.

8. From 1945 to 1949, after the V-J Day, as the labor movement was suffering from a setback—

It was in the recovery and rehabilitation process after the 8-year devastating war that the Chinese labor had put itself under the unprecedented trial: In reorganizing all local trade unions in recovered areas, their welfare provisions were better prescribed, yet the rugged rehabilitation work in every economic field cannot produce enough to meet the demand of fair distribution and urgent consumption of the society at large despite the United Nations relief aid trickling in; therefore, the Communist open rebellion, coupled with the Red infiltration and subversion, had made inroads into the labor movement and badly harassed it.

9. From 1950 to 1958, with the National Government seat moved to Taiwan, a great number of patriotic workers on the mainland also evacuated to this island bastion—

The recent 8-year history of Chinese labor movement has turned to a new, glorious page while those elite labor force and its leaders from the mainland joined the native workers on Taiwan in close cooperation under the enlightened administration of the Government in carrying out the national policy true to the Three People's Principles. The movement had witnessed labor legislations in the enactment and smooth operation of the Labor Insurance Regulations, with the welfare of workers greatly promoted and guaranteed, organization of workers well developed, relations between employers and employees well coordinated, while the Federation of Labor of the Republic of China also reactivated its international phase of movement with considerable achievement.

. Taken as a whole, the entire process of the Chinese labor movement as accurately described in detail in this historical presentation might be looked upon as an excellent decument of Chinese social movement, and it may also be treated as a reflective view of the Chinese political history in the latest 60 years. It covers such a vast field that not only many local labor organiza-

years. It covers such a vast field that not only many local labor organizations with their up-and-down evolution but also the labor legislation and administration in the national scale, and even the activities of international federation of labor concerned, are all portrayed either in vividly authentic statement or with fair interpretations as to make the history a reliable document.

The book had also presented many heroic episodes of the Chinese laborer's fight for realization of the principle and national cause. After every chapter, there are attached ample references such as the general economic condition, tables of commodity prices, scales of wages, indexes of the living standard, and statistics of labor upheavals. In addition, there are also in its appendices such valuable documents as Regulations Governing the Chinese Labor Organization, the administrative ordinances concerned, and related reports or commentaries.

Mr. Ma Chao-tsune, chairman of the editorial board, has in its preface stated: "The objective of labor movement might have been centering around the solution of labor problems. Such problems in the world at large had been laying their emphasis on economic rather than political issues; those in China have been, on the contrary, stressing the political rather than economic subjects. Since both had their shortcomings and maladies with different factors accrued, the remedies proposed should also be varied. In Mr. Ma's "Remark after the Compilation," he pointed out five proper objectives for the Chinese labor movement; namely,

- (1) Realization of smooth coordination and cooperation between the capital and the labor, in wiping out the class struggle;
 - (2) Transcendence over party limits, in setting up the social justice;

- (3) Uplifting of technical standard, in expanding the employment opportunities;
- (4) Reasonable adjustment of the pay scale through negotiations, in carrying out the district system;
- (5) Reinforcement of the labor organization, with strengthening of its international cooperation.

Finally, it may be said that the History of China's Labor Movement is a glorious record of the Chinese workers in the past 60 odd critical years of the Chinese nation. It publicizes in the main the magnificent, patriotic spirit of the Chinese laborers, and demonstrates the proper path for its development. To the forthcoming labor movement of China, it might of certainty contribute its share of wisdom and experience thus accumulated in the past years.

Reviewed By Chen Yi-ling National War Callege Translated By Chen En-cheng

Pecision for China: Communism or Christianity

By Paul K. T. Sih
Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1959. xxiv, 262p.

This is not a book of polemics, as the title may possibly lead some readers to think. It is a solid and scholarly study in history, presented in four parts. The first part treats of the essential characteristics of Chinese culture. The second part tells the story of the Western impact upon China, through the Western material civilization as well as through the Christian missions. The third part deals with the hectic attempts on the part of Chinese leaders to modernize their country, resulting in a spiritual vacuum. The last part is focused on the present crisis in China, and presents the author's conviction that "only through the principles of the Christian Faith can China find spiritual rebirth." (Monsignor John L. McNulty's Foreward, p. xvi). It is truly a great book, because it is panoramic in scope and microscopic in intensity.

Father Laurence J. McGinley, S. J., has summed up the excelling qualities of this book in such a masterful way that I can do no better than endorse whole-heartedly his comment:

Decision for China: Communism or Christianity is an unusual combination of information, inspiration and wisdom. It is the best single volume in English on the spiritual history of China from the first impact of western culture to the latest chapter of the persecution of Christians by the Communists. Dr. Sih has given us an enlightening and inspiring book that sheds a brilliant light on the past, present and future of China's struggle to make her contribution to the modern world. (On the jacket).

What strikes me most is the author's candor and maturity of judgement, which are written all over the pages. It is a marvel to watch how he maintains his spirit of balance even in dealing with controversial questions, charged with emotional explosives.

Space does not allow us to present a synopsis of the book. The reader must read it for himself in order to see how cautiously Dr. Sih steers between the Scylla of a stark pessimism and the Charybidis of delusive hopes, in dealing with all the vital problems confronting the East and the West. Being an Asian himself, he necessarily thinks and feels as an Asian. When he says, therefore, how the Asians feel about the Western nations and what they expect from them, there is a certain authenticity and directness about it which cannot be expected when a Westerner reports what he thinks the Asians want and need. Dr. Sih is now fifty years of age. He has been a Catholic only for ten years. Before his conversion, he had been brought up and steeped in the Confucian way of life. Since then, grace has built upon nature and reenforced its good qualities. Confucianism is still running in his blood.

That Dr. Sih could have absorbed the spirit of catholicity so completely in such a short time can only be explained by the fact that there is a great deal of the *naturally Christian* in the Confucian mode of thinking, so that all his training in Confucianism may be considered a long preparation for his Catholic life.

One of the vital links between Confucianism and Catholicism is the virtue of moderation, of which Dr. Sih has given us a beautiful description in the section on "The Chinese are Chinese." "Moderation," he writes, "is neither mediocrity nor compromise. It is a poise or inner firmness that immediately counters any imbalance that may arise, and restores equilibrium, harmony, pro-

portion. Self-mastery is of key importance to the development of moderation. One disciplined to moderation attains a personal integration within, and an adjustment of social forces without. The Chinese ideal of moderation is to strike a balance between, or to overcome one's conflicts, thereby achieving a reposeful and harmonious maturity. This establishes the natural basis on which a truly free and happy life can flourish." (p. 159).

If moderation is the most basic quality of the Chinese people and the Chinese culture, as many of us believe that it is, then Communism which represents the most immoderate attempt to uproot the traditional morality, is the most un-Chinese movement in the history of China, and is doomed to failure. As Lao Tze would put it, "A whirlwind does not last a whole morning, nor a violent storm a whole day." This is not wishful thinking, but a cosmic law.

In the meantime, Dr. Sih, who is too consistently moderate to be immoderate even in extolling the virtue of moderation, has this to say: "Moderation, though a good moral virtue and sufficient in the past, is now inadequate in the face of Communist aggression. In dealing with Communism the Chinese need something more than moderation on merely moral and natural grounds. Only with a stronger spiritual power can they hope to strengthen their natural gifts and to counter this wicked force. This cannot be done without a truly religious life." Dr. Sih does not stand alone in maintaining that this stronger spiritual power is to be found only in Christianity. He quotes from Dr. Chang Chi-yun, the former Minister of Education, who is a full-fledged Confucian scholar but no Christian, the following significant words: "All natural philosophies have their limitations. No matter how highly endowed, they cannot find what they do not seek; and they cannot seek what only faith can seek, if they have not the faith. Therefore, we must seek the divine source which transcends reason and goes beyond human knowledge. This being true, the moral teachings of Confucius can be very well supplemented and fulfilled by the spirituality of Christ." (p. 161) With these words we may conclude our review, as they sum up in a nutshell the message; of which the whole book is an exceedingly many-sided and moving presentation. This book is a Must for all students of civilization and current history as well as for apostles of Christ.

> John C. H. Wu Professor of Law Seton Hall University

Educational Thoughts and Educational Problems

By Ling Peng
Taipei: China Series Publishing Committee, 1958.

This book, which includes Prof. Ling's writings on education of the past thirty years, is a rare reference book on the problems of education in China today. The book is a cellection of sixty-seven articles, totaling more than 400,000 words. It is divided into seven parts, and comes under these headings: (1) a critical survey of educational thoughts, (2) Problems on educational systems and curricula, (3) problems on college education and middle-school education, (4) problems on national primary education, (5) problems on normal education, (6) a critical discussion of the education of other countries, and (7) miscellanies. As can be seen from the above listed items, the aspects and scopes which the book has touched upon are many, and the contents are richly inclusive. In spite of the fact that it treats of education of different times, and that it consists of independent chapters, the book has one attitude, or one system, which makes all the parts consistent from beginning to end. Thus the book, throughout which runs a thread of the author's central ideas, is really a systematic book on our present-day education.

In the study of modern Chinese educational problems, what is most valued is to instil the educational thoughts of the age into the educational problems which exist today, thus leading towards a reform of this education. Likewise, the bringing forward of educational thoughts must also be based upon the educational problems in existence. Such mutual reliance is all-important, because only by stressing this interaction can we reach the core of the subject when discussing educational thoughts, and also because only thus can we reveal their time significance and their real value when talking about educational problems. This, however, is no easy thing to do: only a scholar of sound judgment and cultured mind can hope to succeed in such a difficult task. Prof. Ling is a true scholar whose solid and intensive learning makes him distrust empty talk or mystifying thinking; he dislikes new-fangled ideas or any self-styled lofty theorists. In the discussion of an educational problem, his attitude is first to approach the subject on solid ground, and then dig for a deeper meaning of it. He is also open-minded, cautious, and discriminating. Consequently, no matter what suggestions or programs he makes, they are always made on a comprehensive as well as intensive basis; they are always mild yet solid; thus every problem is solved satisfactorily. After a careful reading of this book, I cannot help respecting and admiring the author's attitude toward education, which reminds me of John Dewey's opinion (in his Experience and Education) that the function of educational theory is to point out the conflicting problems in existence, without siding with any of them, and then suggest a practicable plan whose basis is even deeper and wider than any one of the theories of various schools. These words of the famous American educator are in tacit agreement with Prof. Ling's attitude and view-point.

The thought of each individual educator in each age has its root, which can be found in what is called Pädagogische Eros. What is this Pädagogische Eros? "An irresistible desire to love others, to love one's fellow mortals, including one's students this is the kind of love which an educator should have. It is the kind of enthusiasm (as Eduard Spranger called it "Paedagogische Grundpathos") which gives life to education; it is an invaluable treasure to a teacher." (P.2) Why is an educator's love an invaluable treasure to a teacher? The author explains: "This is because the ideal and the personality of a teacher has found their expression in a student. The success of a student is identified with the success of the teacher. The accomplishment of a student is the realization of the teacher's personality. This expression or realization is motivated by the word "love", and there is not the least bit of self-interest or utilitarianism involved in it." (P.2)

The root of education is hidden in the educator's love for humanity. To cultivate and express this love, educators must as a matter of fact make human nature the goal of their work. That's why the author gives several chapters (such as "Human Nature and Education," "Individuality and Education," "The Development of Modern Thought in Character-Building.") to the discussion of the effects of education on human nature. "What is the aim of education? What is its ideal? Generally speaking, we may safely say that the aim of education is to awaken and cultivate human nature. The socalled human nature is a possibility which everybody can hope to reach, which can be presupposed as a reachable goal. The chief mission of education is to find means to develop and help cultivate this possibility." (P.15) Having made it clear that the mission of education is to develop and help cultivate human nature, the author goes on to say, "A perusal of Chinese history of education reveals that from ancient times to modern times ethics has been considered essential either to the pursuit of knowledge or to the cultivation of morality. This very same thought can also be found in Western history of education, whose main current of thought for thousands of years has been dominated by humanism or other doctrines stressing the importance of human nature. The influence of such thought, though sometimes hidden,

sometimes revealed, has never been interrupted, and, we may add, can never lose its supremacy." Here the author looks at humanism, historically, from the angle of an educator.

Prof. Ling goes further into the question and expounds more thoroughly the humanism of today. He says: "The modern humanism of democratic countries differs enormously, both in its import and in its standpoint, from the humanism of ancient times. In ancient Greece there were two classes of people: free citizens and slaves. The slaves were compelled by necessity to learn a trade, by which they could earn their keep. The free citizens, however, did not need to think about making a living, and as a result the education they received aimed at the cultivation of their minds. Thus in Europe the tradition of liberal education, which had been a privilege granted to the rich, had taken its shape. This liberal education since then had remained to be an important tradition until the Industrial Revolution brought about a great change, which had made vocational education much respected. In the twentieth century, as a result of the popularity of democracy, everyone has equal right to receive education and the traditional education for privileged classes has now become outmoded and has lost its former importance as an educational form. As the aim of the twentieth-century education is to instruct all citizens without any class distinction, humanism has therefore acquired a new significance: It no longer excludes vocational education as it did in ancient times; on the contrary, it has come to include such an education in its programs. In democratic countries, compulsory education is looked upon with increasing interest, and every effort has been made with a view to popularizing and strengthening this education, with a view to imparting to all the people a basic and minimum humanistic culture. Middle-school education has a double function: it lays equal emphasis upon general culture and vocational training, thus the young folk are enabled to make further progress both in general culture and technical skill. The same thing is true of college education in that college curricula also fall into two categories: there are general-culture courses which run parallel with special-study courses."

From what has been quoted above it is not difficult to see Prof. Ling's penetrating views on the new humanistic education. Starting from this point of view, the author is able to evaluate and investigate all the existing educational problems, and, by adopting this new humanistic attitude, he is also able to offer a satisfactory and practicable solution to each problem. For instance, concerning the reform of today's educational system, Prof. Ling holds the opinion that the reform should be carried out by giving equal opportunity to all citizens, by meeting the actual needs of society, by paying due attention to the development of the student's body and mind, by being

mindful of the proper status of schools of all levels, and lastly, by making our education adaptable to the world situation. These suggestions are the basic principles in the reform of educational systems. As regards the making of curricula, the author, in his chapter on "modern school curricula viewed from modern educational thoughts," has pointed out four different kinds of thought; then he proceeds to give us some clearly stated guiding principles in the making of modern curricula. He says: "A careful observation of the modern educational tendencies reveals that the making of school curricula is based upon several principles: the principle of democracy, the principle of real-life education, the principle of integration, the principle of individualization and so on. These are the unavoidable paths leading to the revision of curricula." (P.170) Bearing this view-point in mind and taking into consideration our present situation, the author begins to discuss the revision of our school curricula. Underlying this discussion the reader will touch now and then the author's critical thought on modern education which, in fact, runs consistently throughout the book.

In his discussion of how to improve the education of different grades, Prof. Ling has made many suggestive and penetrating remarks. Commenting on the reform of university education, he emphasizes the point that a university is the center of culture, that the freedom of scholastic research must be maintained, that culture is "the symbol of reason," and that the rule of "the golden mean" and "the neutrality of education" should be applauded. In his chapter on the reform of middle-school education, Prof. Ling suggests: junior middle schools and senior middle schools should be entirely differentiated; the aim of the former centers on real-life education, while the aim of the latter centers on the discovery or picking out of talented students; thus the missions of these two grades of middle-school education can be completed in their separate ways." Prof. Ling's opinion in this respect may be considered the best cure for the disease of today's middle-school education. Frankly, our present-day middle-school education really has a large number of defects to be remedied: first, the aims of junior and senior middle schools are no longer distinguishable; secondly, in these two kinds of middle schools the courses of study are wastefully repeated; thus neither of them can accomplish its independent mission, and consequently the middle-school students have forgotten the meaning of study and apply themselves only to the dubious aim of entering universities; or, if they fail in that, they will become "Higher-grade" idlers. I think it is reasonable that junior and senior middle schools should be regarded as two independent units. If that cannot be done for the time being, at least senior middle school students should be divided into two groups, with one group devoted to the study of literature, and another devoted to the study of science, so that the individualities of the

students may not be sacrificed. It seems that the author has not given ample space in the book to the discussion of primary education; nevertheless, the important aspects are all there. Prof. Ling says that national primary schools should function not only as schools for children, but also as cultural community centers; in Prof. Ling's opinion these primary schools should not be satisfied with teaching children only, but they should also aim at teaching adults at large, because primary education after all is a popular education and, as such, it should take up the responsibility of eliminating the whole number of illiterates from the population. In his article "Whether Our Compulsory Education Should Be Prolonged' Prof. Ling says, "In order to adapt ourselves to the educational current of the world, it would seem unavoidable that, as citizens of a civilized country, we must endeavour to prolong the six-year period of time for compulsory education and also to eliminate, from the whole population, the 5% proportion of illiterate children." (P. 369) Nowadays a good number of school children, hoping to succeed in the future middle-school entrance examinations, have been making effort to busy themselves with additional hours for study. These extra hours, in themselves, may not be a bad thing; but when carried to excess, they become a burden which the young minds cannot bear. In consideration of the harmful effect of such vicious supplementary courses, the author pleads thus for the salvation of the younger generation: "Primary education has its own independent function; it must not be subordinate to middle-school education. The school teachers, above all, should have a good understanding of this. They must not place the honor of their school or that of an individual above the future welfare of the not yet fully developed children. The teachers should see that the children shall turn out to be citizens of good health, of good personal character, and of useful knowledge." (P. 324) Such earnest, sympathetic request, again, is the spontaneous overflow of the author's Padagogische Eros.

In conclusion, I would say that one of the contributions of this book lies in its introduction of modern educational thoughts to the reader, so that he can form a general idea about them. Furthermore, the author has his own views on education which run like a thread through all the practical problems under discussion. This consistent thread of thought may serve not only as a guide to these problems, but also as proofs that the author's central ideas about education are correct and workable. The merit of the book lies also in the fact that it treats of some of our educational problems of recent years, thus leaving a precious record in the educational history of modern China. It is to be regretted that, because of limited space, I have not been able to recommend more fully those chapters on normal education, on the education of other countries, and on the author's miscellaneous thoughts on

education. As to the recognition of the other merits of the book, I will leave that to the reader.

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Confucianism and Modern Culture

(Collected Chinese Essays and Speeches)
by Chang Chi-yun

Taipei: China Book and Instrument Service, 1958

This is a volume of collected and classified essays and speeches written by Dr. Chang Chi-yun, recently Minister of Education. The writings were made largely during his tenure of that office. Though not a systematic treatise, yet he has approached Confucianism from various angles quite thoroughly. It is a volume of living Confucianism in a country of Confucian culture. It is a body of living Confucian principles as understood and appreciated by an earnest enquirer or scholar and carried out into action in his daily private and public duties as a faithful follower of Confucius the sage. It is an inspired book written by an inspired man.

The book began with a sketchy biography of Confucius, a synopsis of his thought, followed by an examination of the materials with which Confucius taught. From chapter 4 to chapter 12, the writer expounded how Confucian principles have become a vital part of every aspect and every phase of the Chinese national life and strengthened its spiritual value. In chapters 13 and 14, the writer points out that the mutual spiritual tie between the other Far Eastern nations and China, lies in their common and general appreciation of the way of life as Confucius taught. A comparison of Confucianism with the other great systems of spiritual teachings as Buddhism and Christianity, is made to show their common ground.

Chinese Culture

In many places the writer has had very valuable original findings. For instance, he points out that Coufucius was the first man in China to lead in the democratization of the people from feudalism and aristocracy in which state of affairs he himself was born and brought up.

The book shows clear thinking everywhere presented in clear-cut language. Behind all the writings is the laudable man Chang Chi-yun, a living embodiment of Confucianism.

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Appendix

A Brief Description of Chinese Bronze, Porcelain, and Painting

Chinese Bronzes

I. THE EARLIEST CHINESE BRONZES

The use of bronze articles in China began, at the latest, in the beginning of the Shang Dynasty (circa 1500 B.C.). It is more than probable that their first appearance may be dated at a much earlier period, as we find that in the extant specimens of the Shang Dynasty, both the craftsmanship and the decorative designs evidence an advanced state of development.

As the potter's art exercised a good deal of influence on metal works in the early days, so we find that ancient bronze vessels were often modelled after earthenware originals. For example, such forms as li, li, li, li, li, and li, are found in great numbers in ancient pottery, although they are best known in bronze. At a later date bronzes were modelled after other objects, as in the case of li which derived its form from that of bamboo.

II. TYPES OF CHINESE BRONZES

Bronze vessels classified according to their various uses may roughly be divided into five categories:

- 1. Cooking utensils and food vessels, such as li,4 yen,5 ting,6 tui,7 kuei,8 fu,0 tou,10 etc.
- 2. Containers, heating and drinking vessels, such as lei, 11 hu, 12 yu, 13 ho, 14 chio, 15 chueh, 16 chia, 17 ku, 18 chih, 19 tsun, 20 etc.
 - 3. Vessels for ordinary use, such as p'an,21 chien,22 yi,28 etc.
 - 4. Musical instruments, such as chung, 24 po, 25 cheng, 26 nao, 27 ling, 28 to, 28A etc.
 - 5. Weapons, such as yueh, 29A ko, 29B mao, 29C chien, 29D etc.

III. DATING

Chinese bronze articles that have inscriptions can usually be given definite dates on the evidence of such inscriptions. From our present knowledge, these articles may roughly be assigned to six periods as follows:

- 1. The Shang Dynasty (circa 1766-1122 B.C.)
- 2. The Western Chou Period (circa 1122-769 B.C.)
- 3. The Ch'un Ch'iu Period, or that covered by the "Spring and Autumn Annals" (circa 722-481 B.C.)
 - 4. The Period of the "Warring States" (circa 481-221 B.C.)
 - 5. The Han Dynasty (circa 206 B.C.-220 A.D.)
 - 6. Post-Han Period.

The periods covered by the Shang and the Western Chou Dynasties and the period of "Spring and Autumn Annals" are by far the most important in the Bronze Age of China. Bronzes of these periods maintain a more or less uniform tradition. But there are certain typological changes; musical instruments, for instance, were not much developed during the Shang Dynasty, but these of the chung and po type (both clapperless bells) began to appear in the Western Chou period. The hsu⁴⁰ type of food vessel did not appear until the end of that period. Therefore, the dating of bronzes may sometimes bedetermined by their typology.

During the latter part of the period of the "Spring and Autumn Annals" and during the time of the "Warring States," the form, decoration, and style of inscription on bronzes all underwent violent changes. The principal reason for such changes was that prior to the period of the "Spring and Autumn Annals," workers in bronze all congregated in the metropolis where the Emperor resided; but after that time, they were dispersed throughout the feudal principalities. Thus local variation of every sort was brought about; and each followed a different line of development. The result is that bronze articles of this period are richer in form and show more local colour. To call bronzes of this period "Ch'in bronzes" as some do, is clearly a mistake.

Bronzes of the Han³¹ Dynasty are usually simple and devoid of rich ornament. They are mostly for practical use. The period after the Han Dynasty is one of decline, and is devoid of any particular characteristics.

IV. ARTISTIC VALUE OF CHINESE BRONZES

Chinese bronzes studied in their technical aspect may be grouped under the following three points:

1. Shapes and Forms.—Since bronze objects were often modelled after those made of stone, pottery, bamboo, wood, etc., they have, therefore, as-

sumed from the very beginning innumerable shapes or forms. In addition, every kind of object had a combination of features, some of which kept on changing in the course of time, while others remained more or less true to their prototype. For instance a round object may become rectangular; cylindrical legs may assume the form of a bird, an animal or a human being; the same is true with the knob of a cover or the handle or even the complete article itself. Such changes are often gradual. In some cases, it is almost possible to trace back the different stages of such changes, and group them into typological series.

- 2. Ornamental Patterns.—Bronzes are sometimes found plain and devoid of any ornament, but it is the decorative patterns that have attracted the greatest amount of attention from collectors. Besides this, very often after the period of the "Spring and Autumn Annals," we come across figures of birds and animals in bronzes.
- 3. Styles of Inscription.—The inscriptions on bronze vessels are executed in different styles of Chinese characters, and many of them show fine calligraphy. As time went on, changes were made in the style of script. Some characters in the inscriptions of an earlier date are written in pictorial script; sometimes the characters are so disposed as to form pictures; and sometimes they are so closely mixed up with the patterns that it is difficult to discern them. A kind of script known as the script of birds and insects was in vogue during the period of the "Warring States"; it is formed by blending the characters with the figures of birds and insects. By means of the inscriptions on bronzes then, we are able to trace Chinese writing to its origin.

Chinese Porcelain

I. THE ORIGIN OF PORCELAIN

Pottery was in use among the people of ancient China, and was, in subsequent ages, developed into porcelain. Pottery and porcelain, though both formed from moulded clay which is afterward subjected to a firing process, are composed of entirely different materials. Since the material for pottery is earth, which is available for use almost everywhere, districts suitable for its production are naturally vast and well distributed. Porcelain, on the other hand, must be fabricated from paste which has been derived from pulverised stones specially quarried, and may be distinguished by the difference in the quality of paste. Hence ceramic wares can be manufactured only within certain areas, and may be graded by their relative coarseness or fineness.

II. FAMOUS KILNS OF THE SUCCESSIVE DYNASTIES

Of all the yao, 32 or porcelain kilns, that are mentioned in books, none is anterior to the Tung Ou³⁸ kilns of the Chin Dynasty. 34 Next in order come the Kuan-chung Yao, 35 and the Lo-ching Yao, 36 of the Yuan Wei³⁷ period. Next comes the Ch'ang-nan³⁸ factory of the Ch'en Dynasty 39 (vide infra), which has now become the well known kilns at Ching-te Chen. 40

From the T'ang Dynasty downward, the number of kilns gradually increased to such an extent that they were too numerous to be mentioned. Taking those that were famous at the time or those of which we have extant specimens, we may say that among the kilns of the T'ang Dynasty, the Yueh Yao⁴¹ ranks first, and the Hsing Yao,⁴² second. The Ta-yi⁴³ ware which was mentioned in the poems of Tu Fu⁴⁴ must have been a product of exceptionally fine quality, but it is to be regretted that no specimens can now be seen.

In the period of "Five Dynasties" (907-960 A.D.), besides the Yueh-chou ware of the "secret colour," or pi-se, the Ch'ai Yao alone enjoyed a high reputation.

The Northern Sung Dynasty had the greatest number of noted porcelain manufactures to its credit. The Ting, 47 the Chun, 48 the Tung, 49 the Ju, 50 the Kuan, 51 the Lung-chuan 52 and the Ko Ti⁵⁸ ("Elder and Younger Brothers") ware—each set up rival standards in the north and south, or else reflected glory one after another. Meanwhile Ch'ang-nan, 54 which has assumed the name of Ching-te, 55 and the Yueh-chou factory, whose products are still known as Pi-se, also turned out a great quantity of wares of a superior grade. Some of the Tz'u-chou, 50 the Li-shui, 57 the Hsiao-hsien, 58 the Chien-an, 59 and the Chien-yang 60 porcelains have something to recommend them.

As to the special officials for the supervision of porcelain manufacture, there were in the time of T'ai P'ing Hsing Kuo⁶¹ (977-984 A.D.), Chao Jenchi, ⁶² who was Tien-ch'ien Ch'eng-chih, ⁶³ or Attendant Han-lin⁶⁴ at the Imperial Court and superintendent of Porcelain Manufacture at Yueh-chou; ⁶⁵ and in the Ta Kuan⁶⁶ period, Hsiao Fu, ⁶⁷ who was Chiang-tso Shao-chien, ⁶⁸ or Vice-Minister of the Imperial Household and Superintendent of the Establishment of Porcelain Kilns at Ju-chou. ⁶⁹

After the Imperial Court moved to the south, the Kuan Yao⁷⁰ of the Hsiunai Ssu⁷¹ followed the Practice obtaining then in the old capital. The Chi-chou, ⁷² the Su-chou, ⁷⁴ and the P'ing-ting ⁷⁵ were all wares modelled after the ancient Ting. ⁷⁶ The Pi-se ⁷⁷ porcelains were made in Yu-yao ⁷⁸ instead. Fac-

tories were also established in Yu-hang⁷⁹ and Hsiang-hu⁸⁰ for the manufacture of ceramic objects. A new Kuan Yao⁸¹ was established beneath the Altar of Heaven. There are also good specimens of the Sha Chun or siliceous Chun⁸² ware, which were being produced by the Kuang-tung⁸³ kilns established at Yang-chiang Hsien.⁸⁴

Peng Chun-pao⁸⁵ in the Yuan⁸⁶ Period, manufactured a type of wares in Hochou⁸⁷ in imitation of Ting-chou⁸⁸ porcelain, which were then given the name of Peng Yao.⁸⁹ Among the kilns newly established in the dynasty, the Lin-ch'uan Yao⁸⁰ seemed to be doing comparatively well. But among the old kilns some ceased to exist, while others though continuing to run, turned out wares either of inferior workmanship or poor material. Even the Ching-te Chen⁹¹ factories suffered from stagnation at that time. As they continued to supply the ceramic wares needed by the Imperial Household and the Privy Council, some fine specimens were still manufactured. The kilns at Ching-te Chen were at their zenith in both the Ming and the Ch'ing Dynasty, and encountered no rivalry from other porcelain factories.

The Te-hua Yao⁹² established at Ch'uan-chou Fu⁹³ in Fukien suddenly came into prominence in the Ming period, producing wares that were elegant in form and fine in texture. The Kuang-tung Kilns at Shih-wan⁹⁴ (vide supra) and the Ou Yao⁹⁴ at I-hsing⁹⁴ also manufactured vessels of good quality.

III. PORCELAIN WITH CLOISONNE ENAMEL

Of all the Porcelain of the Ch'ing Dynasty, one kind is famous throughout the world as the finest and most beautiful, yet it is known by a misnomer which is continued by a misconception and is most difficult to correct. This is what is vulgarly known as Ku-yueh Hsuan.

This type of enamelled porcelain, it is found, originated with the regime of Tsang Ying-hsuan, who was Superintendent of the Imperial Factory after the twentieth year of K'ang Hsi. The style of painting on the porcelain, which was in coloured enamel, was entirely adapted from the technique of manufacturing cloisonne ware on a bronze body for the use of the Emperor. The colouring materials in use were also imported from the west. Thus the name of fa-lang ts'ai⁹⁵ "cloisonne enamel" or tz'u-tai fa-lang⁹⁶ "porcelain-bodied cloisonne" was given to these vessels. In the records on file in the Imperial Palace these porcelains are recorded as tz'u-t'ai hua fa-lang⁹⁷ or "porcelain-body painted in cloisonne enamel." Subsequently in the eighth year of Ch'ien Lung⁹⁸ (1743 A.D.) the name was altered in favour of tz'u-t'ai yang-ts'ai⁹⁹ or "porcelain-bodied foreign enamel."

During the period between the sixth year of Yung Cheng and the eighteenth year of Ch'ien Lung (1753 A.D.) when T'ang Ying was Superintendent of the Imperial works, this kind of enamelled ware reached its highest stage of development. T'ang improved upon the method in use, and put a vivacity into what had been dull and stereotyped. He also employed such popular Chinese colours as brown and black to make up the deficiency in variety of pigment, thus adding freshness and brilliancy to the composition. This art perished with the death of Tang Ying,

The date marks inscribed at the base in the case of K'ang Hsi¹⁰⁰ wares, consisted of four characters in the Sung style of writing, thus Kang Hsi yuchih, ¹⁰¹ or "made for the Emperor in the time of Kang Hsi". The characters are written in foreign red or blue enamel, and are somewhat raised. There are also marks written in under-glaze blue in the formal square style called K'ai-shu. ¹⁰² The Yung Cheng wares bear the date mark Yung Cheng nien chih, ¹⁰³ or "made in the year of Yung Cheng." These also are written of blue enamel in the Sung style of characters which are slightly raised. There are also other marks such as Yung Cheng yu-chih or "made for the Emperor in the time of Yung Cheng"; and Ta Ch'ing Yung Cheng nien chih ¹⁰⁴ or "made in the year of Yung Cheng in the Great Ch'ing Dynasty." These are written in the style known as K'ai-shu, in under glaze blue. As to Ch'ien Lung wares, there is the mark of four characters Ch'ien Lung nien chih, ¹⁰⁵ or "made in the year of Ch'ien Lung"; this is written in blue enamel and the Sung style in slight relief.

This kind of decoration in enamel was not only applied to procelain, but was later employed on glass wares also. Among the vessels used by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung there are to be found small articles such as snuff-bottles which were made under an imperial decree by the Tsao-pan Ch'u. 106 Upon these articles was applied the method of painting upon porcelain with enamel, that is cloisonne enamelled porcelain. The technique which was employed upon porcelain was thus extended to glass ware. The date marks at the base were invariably the four characters, Ch'ien Lung nien chih 107 written in the k'ai-shu style, exceedingly formal and trim. Those written in blue enamel are raised and those in "oil red" flush with the base. In the Palace Museum, there is a small glass bottle on which the coloured decoration and the accompanying epigraph are exactly the same as those on a hot water vase of cloisonne enamelled porcelain, though somewhat inferior to the latter in execution. At the base are engraved the four characters Ch'ien Lung nien chih in Sung style of writing. It is a rare piece.

Porcelain in cloisonne enamel is represented by many examples in the Imperial Collection at the Palace. Glass wares of the same kind are mostly re-

presented by snuff-bottles. The date marks at the base all conform to the same type as described in the previous paragraph. There are none of these with the mark of Ku-yueh Hsuan. 108

With regard to the Hsuan (or pavilion) that is named Ku-yueh, visits have been made to all the palaces which are still in existence, such as those in the Forbidden City, known as Ku Kung, those in the parks enclosing the three lakes known as San Hai, those in the Summer Palace called I-ho Yuan, and those at Jehol, but the search has been in vain. Researches have also been made into books and records that deal with palaces that were destroyed by fire, such as Ch'ang-ch'un Yuan, and Yuan-ming Yuan, but the effort again has been fruitless. Collections of poems and other great literary works by the various emperors have been thoroughly examined, with no more encouragement. In the Collection of the Emperor Kao Tsung (Ch'ien Lung) practically every building in all the palaces in and out of Peking has formed a subject for his poetical effusion. Among these so treated there are Meiyueh Hsuan and Tai-yueh Hsuan¹⁰⁹ but no Ku-yueh Hsuan! It is obvious then that there is no pavilion of that name within the Palace precinct, or Imperial Parks, for otherwise Emperor Kao Tsung would not have singled it out for neglect.

Nevertheless there was actually the mark of Ku-yueh Hsuan in the time of Ch'ien Lung, but it was inscribed on glass and not on porcelain wares. Moreover, it was the mark of a private individual, and was not affixed on vessels for the imperial palaces. Objects of this kind consist of small glass snuff-bottles, being the same in substance and decoration as those with date marks of Ch'ien Lung. At the base of the object are three characters, Kuyueh Hsuan, written in the k'ai-shu style and composed of ni-chin or gold ground fine like ink. They were also made by the Tsao-pan Ch'u at the time, apparently for a member of the imperial family or an official of high authority in the Imperial Household, to be used for himself. The reason why the date mark of Ch'ien Lung nien chih was not inscribed was because they were not meant for the use of the Emperor, and the reason why the mark of Kuyueh Hsuan was affixed was because they were intended for the owner to fondle. If anyone who could order the Tsao-pan Ch'u to make vessels for himself be not an imperial prince or a high official in the Imperial Household, who else, it may be questioned, could it have been with such authority?

These Ku-yueh Hsuan wares, as compared with cloisonné enamelled porcelain, though having coloured decoration of an equal quality, have a body material and a base mark entirely different. Still porcelain in cloisonné enamel goes under the name of Ku-yueh Hsuan. There is a reason for it. As porcelains

in cloisonné enamel were "special made", for the exclusive use of the Imperial Court, none could have been seen outside the forbidden enclosure. The glass wares with the mark of Ku-yueh Hsuan, on the other hand, being articles made for a private individual, could not indefinitely escape from circulation in the market. For want of an appropriate name they were therefore called by their base mark, Ku-yueh Hsuan. After the tenth year of Hsien Feng (1850 A.D.) cloisonné enamelled porcelain also leaked out from the palaces to the market. Those who got a sight of it, observing the similarity of its coloured decoration to that of the glass wares of the base mark of Ku-yueh Hsuan, extended the latter's name to the articles newly come from the palace. Thus the term has become indelible, and the misnomer has echoed and re-echoed until the real name of "cloisonné enamel" has been drowned in this persistent babel!

Chinese Painting and Calligraphy

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Chinese calligraphy and Chinese painting both have a history of great antiquity. They are moreover distinguished by the existence between them of a peculiar close affinity. The art of painting is known in many countries, but the art of calligraphy is known only in China, and what is known of the art of calligraphy in Japan is also that of China. Characterized as they are by this very special relationship in their parallel existence, Chinese calligraphy and painting would seem to deserve a position of first importance in the realm of art.

Primarily both Chinese calligraphy and painting serve as media of the revelation of the spirit of man and have always exercised great influence upon each other. Nobility of character and profundity of learning find expression in Chinese paintings and writings, which, with an adequate technique of their own, are essentially different from the simple reproductions of concrete substances.

Of the old writings and paintings that are extant (that is, those done on silk and paper), there are examples of Chung Yu, Wang Hsi-chi, Ku Kai-chi of the Six Dynasties. But owing to their great antiquity, it is difficult to ascertain their genuineness. Those of the T'ang and Sung Dynasties are more numerous and are worth careful study. It is now proposed to describe briefly and in their main aspects the origins and types of the various writings and paintings in their historical order for the benefit of those who are interested in the art of Chinese calligraphy and painting.

II. THE EVOLUTION OF CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY AND ITS EMINENT EXPONENTS

Calligraphy as one kind of Chinese art may be said to have passed through approximately five stages. From the dynasties of Shang and Chou to the Chin Dynasty, Chinese calligraphy evolved from picture-writing to chouwen¹¹⁰ and siao-csuan.¹¹¹ This may be regarded as the first period of which many specimens may be found on various bronzeware and stone inscriptions.

Pa-fen,¹¹² a composite and transitional type of writing, first appeared at the end of the Chin Dynasty, while during the Han Dynasty such styles as li-shu,¹¹⁸ chang-tsao,¹¹⁴ and tsao-shu¹¹⁵ were evolved. During Wei, there was Chung Yu and during Tsing there was Wang Hsi-chi, both of whom were famous for their writing in what is known to-day as the formal and running styles and of whose handwriting true representative specimens are still in existence to-day. It might be said that in their writings the art of Chinese calligraphy as known in its present styles reached its height. In fact, no subsequent artist up to the end of the Six Dynasties ever went beyond these two eminent calligraphists. The only slight deviation occurred during Pei Chao (North Dynasty) when such man as Chen Hsi developed a style possessing singular vigour and a sheer ruggedness all its own. This is the second period in the history of Chinese calligraphy.

The Sui Dynasty witnessed a commingling of the styles of writing as they were known in the north and the south, and this led up to the flourishing period as represented by the T'ang Dynasty. The Emperors Tai Tsung, Ou-Yang Hsun, Yu Shih-nan, Chu Sui-liang, Hsueh Chih, Lu Chien-chi, Sun Chien-li, Chang Hsu, Yen Cheng-ching, Hwai Su, Liu Kung-chuan, Li Yung, and Hsu Hao are all calligraphists with individual styles. Among the poets, Li Po, Lin Tsao and Tu Mu are also known for their distinguished penmanship. During Wu Tai (Five Dynasties) a worthy successor was found in Yang Ning-shih, who seemed to represent the best of his predecessors. This is the third period.

During the Sung Dynasty the art of Chinese calligraphy saw further and greater development. Succeeding Wu-yang Shih, Tsai Hsiang, Su Shih, Wang Ting-chien and Mi Fei developed four distinctive styles of the Sung Dynasty. Later the Emperor Hui Tsung invented what is known as shou-chin-shu, 116 while the Emperor Kao Tsung 117 spent twenty years in the Teh Shou 118 Palace learning the art of the two Wangs (Wang Hsi-chi 119 and Wang Hien-chi 120). In the meantime, such scholars as Tsai Ching, 121 Chou Pang-yen, 122 Fan Cheng-ta, 123 Chang Hsiao-shiang, 124 Chiang Kwei, 125 Lu Yu, 126 Wu Chu, 127 Wu Yueh, 128

Chu Shih,¹²⁰ Yao Ke¹³⁰ and others all won fame as calligraphists. The conquest of China by the Manchus (Liao-Chin) and Mongols was, as is known, largely political and Chinese civilization was in each case adopted by the invaders. Thus it was that Yin Hsun¹³¹ and Wang Ting-tsun¹³² of Chin and Chao Meng-fu¹³³ of Yuan rose one after another as distinguished artists. Chao Meng-fu who was as eminent a painter as he was a calligraphist may be regarded as the supreme representative of this fourth period during which lived also such famous men as Shien Yu-shu,¹³⁴ Kang Li-kwei,¹³⁵ Yu Chih,¹³⁶ Chang Yu,¹³⁷ Chieh Hsi-ssu,¹³⁸ Yu Ho¹³⁹ and others who were each distinguished in his own particular style.

The Ming Dynasty carried on the heritage of the Yuan Dynasty and had such famous aritists as Sun Ke, 140 Sun Lien, 141 Li Tung-yang, 142 Chu Jung-ming, 148 Wen Cheng-ming,144 and Wang Chung145 who were all known for their special The most distinguished calligraphist of the period, however, was Tung Chih-chang,146 who was equally proficient as a painter. Indeed, he attained such artistic heights that most of the later calligraphers of the early Ch'ing Dynasty were overshadowed by him. There were, nevertheless, such comparatively outstanding men as Wang To,147 Wang Shih-hung,149 Chiang Chenying, 149 Ching Nung, 150 Wang Shu, 151 Liu Jung, 152 Weng Fang-kang 153 and Yi Ping-shou154 who were all representatives of the Ch'ing Dynasty. After the reign of Chia Ching, 155 there was a general distaste for the rigidity and dullness of the tai-ko style156 into which Chinese calligraphy had largely fallen at the time. A new interest in the study of old stone inscriptions was aroused and the art of calligraphy took a sudden turn, acquiring in the process a new vitality. Representatives of this phase were such men as Teng Shih-ju, 157 Pao Shih-chen158 and Chang Yu-chao. 159 This is the fifth period.

III. THE EVOLUTION OF CHINESE PAINTING AND THE FAMOUS PAINTERS

The art of painting is very complicated. It may be described in three divisions—landscape, figures and sketch.

1. The origin of painting of landscapes is attributed to the Six Dynasties, but it flourished in the T'ang Dynasty. For convenience's sake, it may be divided into two schools, Northern and Southern. The Southern School secures harmony of tone by means of soft touches and gains illusive charm in its drawing of realities. This school lays stress upon the handling of the brush. The Northern School makes powerful rhythm predominant in its compositions, showing real strength by means of empty spaces. This school emphasizes the application of colours. The founder of the Southern School was Wang Wei. 160 Yang Shen 161 and Lu Hung 162 of the T'ang Dynasty, Ching Hao, 163 Kwan

Tung, ¹⁶⁴ Tung Yuan, ¹⁶⁵ and Chu Jan¹⁶⁶ of the Five Dynasties, Li Cheng, ¹⁶⁷ Fan K'uan, ¹⁶⁸ Hwei Chung, ¹⁶⁹ Yen Wen-kuei, ¹⁷⁰ Hsu Tao-ning, ¹⁷¹ Kuo Hsi, ¹⁷² Chao Ta-nien, ¹⁷³ Mi Fei, ¹⁷⁴ Chiang Shen¹⁷⁵ and Mi Yu-jen¹⁷⁶ of the Sung Dynasty, Chao Meng-fu, ¹⁷⁷ Chien Hsuan, ¹⁷⁸ Kao K'e-kung, ¹⁷⁹ Huang Kungwang, ¹⁸⁰ Tsao Chih-po, ¹⁸¹ Wu Chen, ¹⁸² Wang Mang, ¹⁸³ Ni Ts'an, ¹⁸⁴ Sheng Mou, ¹⁸⁵ Chu T'e-chen, ¹⁸⁶ T'ang Ti, ¹⁸⁷ Chen Yu-yen, ¹⁸⁸ and Hsu Pun¹⁸⁹ of the Yuan Dynasty, Wang Fu, ¹⁹⁰ Liu Yu, ¹⁹¹ Shen Chou, ¹⁹² Wen Cheng-ming ¹⁹³ and Tung Chi-chang ¹⁹⁴ of the Ming Dynasty, and Wang Shih-ming, ¹⁹⁵ Wang Chien, ¹⁹⁶ Wang Hui, ¹⁹⁷ Wang Yuan-chi, ¹⁹⁸ Wu Li, ¹⁹⁹ Yun Shou-ping, ²⁰⁰ Shih Hsi, ²⁰¹ Shih Tao, ²⁰² Pa-ta Shan-jen, ²⁰³ Emperor Kao Tsung, ²⁰⁴ T'ang Yi-fen ²⁰⁵ and Tai Hsi ²⁰⁶ of the Ch'ing Dynasty;—all these painters carried on the tradition of this school for more than a thousand years without interruption.

The painting of landscapes by the Northern School often included drawings of human and animal figures and of buildings and towers. Their execution was of two kinds, elaborate and rough, and the representative artists were Li Sze-hsun, 207 and Li Chao-tao, 208 alias the "Big" and "Little" Generals Li, of the T'ang Dynasty. Well-known for elaborate execution were Wang Hsien, 209 Chao Tsung-han, 210 Chao Po-chu, 211 Chao Po-hsiao, 212 Liu Sung-nien 213 and Yen Tz'eping214 of the Sung Dynasty, Wang Chen-peng215 of the Yuan Dynasty, and Chou Ying²¹⁶ and Wu Pin²¹⁷ of the Ming Dynasty;—all these artists formed one school. For the rough and rugged style, may be mentioned Li T'ang, 218 Chu Jui,²¹⁹ Ma Yuan²²⁰ and Hsia Kuei²²¹ of the Sung Dynasty, Liu Kwan-tao²²² of the Yuan Dynasty, Tai Chin, 228 Chou Chen, 224 T'ang Yin 225 and Lan Ying 226 of the Ming Dynasty;-these artists also formed one school. The different schools of painting in the beginning of the Ch'ing Dynasty followed the tradition of the artists of the latter part of the Ming Dynasty. For example, Wang To, 227 Tai Ming-yueh, 228. Fu Shen 229 and Fa Jo-chen 230 all showed approaches to the northern school. Sometimes the Southern and Northern Schools showed intermixture in their technique and exhibited no clear line of demarcation. It is for connoisseurs to distinguish them.

2. The painting of human and animal figures had its origin in the Han Dynasty, and it was followed up through the Six Dynasties, but touched a little by extraneous influences. The extant works of this category date back to the T'ang Dynasty and they are comparatively authentic. Yen Li-pen, 231 Wu Tao-tse, 232 the junior and the senior Yu Chih, 233 and Chou Fang 234 of the T'ang Dynasty, Chou Wen-chu 235 and Chiu Wen-po 236 of the Five Dynasties, Shih Ke, 237 Chao Wu-chiu, 238 Li Pai-Shih, 239 Su Han-chen, 240 Ma Ho-chih, 241 Chang Tse-tuan, 242 Chia Hsi-ku, 243 Liang Kai, 244 Li Sung 245 and Kung Kai 246 of the Sung Dynasty, Chao Meng-fu, 247 Chao Jung, 248 Chao Yen Cheng, 249

Yen Hui²⁵⁰ and Jin Jin-fa²⁵¹ of the Yuan Dynasty, Wu Wei,²⁵² Kuo Hsu,²⁵³ Tu Chin,²⁵⁴ T'ang Yin,²⁵⁵ Chou Ying,²⁵⁶ Ting Yun-peng²⁵⁷ and Ts'ui Tsechung²⁵⁸ of the Ming Dynasty, these painters either depicted real scenery and living figures or ethereal charm and airy grace by means of either elaborate drawing or rough sketch, and each of them was eminent in his particular category of painting.

3. Famous for painting real scenery and life-like figures were the following artists: Han Kan, 259 Tai Sung, 260 Han Huang 261 and Pien Luan 262 of the T'ang Dynasty, T'iao Kwan-yin, 263 Hsu Hsi, 264 Hwang Chuan, 265 Tong Chang-yu266 of the Five Dynasties, Chu Tsai, 267 son of Hwang Chuan and Chung Ssu, 268 grandson of Hsu Hsi; each had his own technique. Chao Chang, 269 Ts'ui Po, 270 Ai Hsuan, 271 Wu Yuan-yu, 272 Lin Chun, 278 Wu Ping, 274 Li Ti, 275 Ma Lin, 276 and Lu Tsung-Kuei, 277 Hsiao Jung 278 of the Liao Dynasty, Chien Hsuan 279 and Wang Yuan 280 of the Yuan Dynasty, Emperor Hsuan Tsung, 281 Lin Liang, 282 Lu Chih, 283 Chen Tao-fu, 284 Wang Ku Hsiang, 285 Hsu Wei, 286 Chou Tse-mie, 287 and Chen Chieh288 of the Ming Dynasty, Yun Shou ping,289 Wang Wu,290 Chin Nung,291 Chiang Ting-hsi²⁹² and Tsou I-kuei²⁹³ of the Ch'ing Dynasty;—each of these painters had his own special qualities. The paintings of this school are characterized by exquisite beauty, as well as powerful rhythm and show excellent skill in the mixing and laying on of colours. In this school there was also a group of painters, who specialized in producing pictures just by a few touches, chiefly in outline. Though they made sparing use of colours, they could produce pictures full of life and vitality, without at the same time being coarse and vulgar. Thus their works are far superior to the pictures of the "patronized" type, which were mainly imitative.

IV. THE SPECIAL FEATURES AND TECHNIQUE OF CHINESE PAINTING

The three general divisions of Chinese painting as described in the previous chapter were discussed merely from the standpoint of the highest individual attainments of the representative artists. However, as it often happened, one person might be equally skilled in several or all of the three divisions. But in the study of Chinese painting one must first of all realize and appreciate the important fact that it is almost entirely a medium for the expression of the character, the temperament and the taste of the painter. This is so because (1) Chinese art is an integral part of life, because (2) the technique of Chinese painting and that of calligraphy are bound up with each other, and because (3) the implements and the manner in which they are employed are both highly elaborate and refined.

The principal instrument used in Chinese painting is, of course, the brush. But the brushes are highly differentiated according to the degree of fineness and suppleness. Every stroke of the brush is irrevocable and is not retouched. Therefore the effects thus obtained in landscape painting are quite different from those achieved by the piling on of colours and the process of endless retouching, while the force and appeal thus produced will be found in the intangible whole of the picture.

The laws of perspective, of light and shade and of proportion, though not rigidly observed, are respected in the main through rhythm as well as the atmosphere which generally envelops and illuminates the entire picture.

Particular attention is also paid to the employment of ink and colours. Besides the preliminary care usually exercised in the preparation and mixing of the pigments, the order in which they are applied the force or pressure with which they are brushed on, the proportion between the water and colour used as well as that between their various combinations, and finally the quality of the brush, the silk or paper and of the colours themselves are all supremely important in the moment of contact in order that desired brilliance and appeal of a picture might be achieved. Therefore, in the manufacture of paper, silk, pigments and the brush, special skill is always required. Even at the moment of painting, the various materials to be used must be suitably prepared. For instance, the dampening of the paper ground, or the treatment of silk with alum, or even the selection of the right kind of water for the mixing of colours. In the matter of the brush alone, as many as forty kinds are used, not to mention the various other things required in the pursuit of this art.

Besides paper and silk, painting is also done on buildings and various kinds of utensils. Similarly, the finger or even the tongue is sometimes used instead of the brush. In addition to these varieties, pictures are also made by the process of charring, and others out of wrought iron, paper and velvet, which may be classified as industrial art.

There is finally another point that should be made clear in connection with Chinese painting. Though it has a style and spirit all its own, Chinese painting has in its contact with foreign influences, shown considerable reaction. The effects of Buddhism, of communication with the outside world through envoys and of the importation of foreign industrial arteraft and materials can be seen in the upheavals in the style of Chinese painting. However, most of the foreign elements have been digested and assimilated, and made an integral part of the original art of the nation. It would not, therefore, be too much to claim for Chinese painting the position of leadership in Oriental art.

Chinese Culture

For the convenience of reference, the various Chinese dynastic periods are appended below together with the Western chronology:

Han206 B. C220 A.D.
San Kuo (Three Kingdoms)220-265 A.D.
Tsing & Sui265-618 A.D.
T'ang618-907 A.D.
Wu Tai (Five Dynasties)907-960 A.D.
Sung960-1279 A.D.
Yuan1279-1368 A.D.
Ming1368-1644 A.D.
Ch'ing1644-1912 A.D.

銅器瓷器繪畫英文機說註釋

1 兩	2 甗	3 豆	4 萬
5 顧	6 鼎	7 敦	8 篳
9 篤	10 豆	11 藝	12 壺
13 卣	14 盉	15 角	16 爵
17 學	18 觚	19 輝	20 拿
21 盤	22 鑑	23 匪	24 鐘
25 鎮	26 鉦	27 鐃	28 鈴
28A 鐸	29A 鉞	29B 戈	29C 矛
29D 劍	30 盨	31. 漢	32 窯
33 東歐	34 晉	35 關中窯	36 洛京窯
37 元魏	38 昌南	39 陳	40 景德鎮
41 越窯	42 邢窯	43 大邑	44 杜甫
45 秘色	46 柴窯	47 定	48 鈞
49 東	50 汝	51 官	52 龍泉
53 哥弟	54 昌南	55 景德	56 磁州
57 麗水	58 蕭縣	59 建安	60 建陽
61 太平與國	62 趙仁濟	63 殿前承旨	64 翰林
65 越州	66 大觀	67 蕭服	68 將作少監
69 汝州	70 官窯	71 修內司	72 吉州
73 宿州	74 泗州	75 平定	76 定
77 秘色	78 餘姚	79 餘杭	80 湘湖
81 官窯	82 沙鈞	83 廣東	84 陽江縣
85 彭均資	86 元	87 霍州	88 定州
89 彭窯	90 臨川窯	91 景德鎮	92 德化窯
93 泉州府	94 石灣	94A 歐窯	94B 宜興
95 琺瑯彩	96 瓷胎琺瑯	97 瓷胎畫琺瑯	98 乾隆
99 瓷胎洋彩	100 康熙	101 康熙御製	102 楷書
103 雍正年製	104 大清雍正年製		106 造辦處
107 乾隆年製	108 古月軒	109 待月軒	110 播文
111 小篆	112 八分	113 禁書	114 章草
115 草書	116 痩金書	117 高宗	118 德壽
119 王羲之	120 王獻之	121 蔡京	122 周邦彦
123 范成大	124 張孝祥	125 姜夔	126 陸游
127 吳琚	128 吳說	129 朱熹	130 岳珂
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139 兪和	140 宋克	141 宋濂	142 李東陽
143 祝允明	144 文徽明	145 王龍	146 董其昌
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	147	王鐸	148	汪士跋	149	姜宸英	150	金農
		王澍		劉塘		翁方綱	154	伊秉綬
		嘉慶		臺閣體		鄧石如		包世臣
		張裕釗		王維		楊昇		盧鴻
		荆浩		關仝		董源	166	巨然
		李成		范寬		惠崇	170	燕文貴
		許道事		郭熙		趙大年	174	米芾
		江參		米友仁	177	趙孟頫	178	錢選
		高克恭		黄公望		曹知白	182	吳鎮
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		唐棣		陳汝言		徐賁		王紱
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	195	王時敏		王鑑		王翚		王原祁
		吳歷		惲壽平		石谿	202	石濤
		八大山人		高宗	205	湯胎汾	206	戴熙
		李思訓		李昭道		王詵	210	趙宗漢
		趙伯駒		趙伯驌	213	劉松年	214	閻次平
		王振鵬		仇英	217	吳彬	218	李唐
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		李伯時	240	蘇漢臣	241	馬和之	242	張擇端
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		趙孟頫	248	趙雍	249	趙彥徵	250	顏輝
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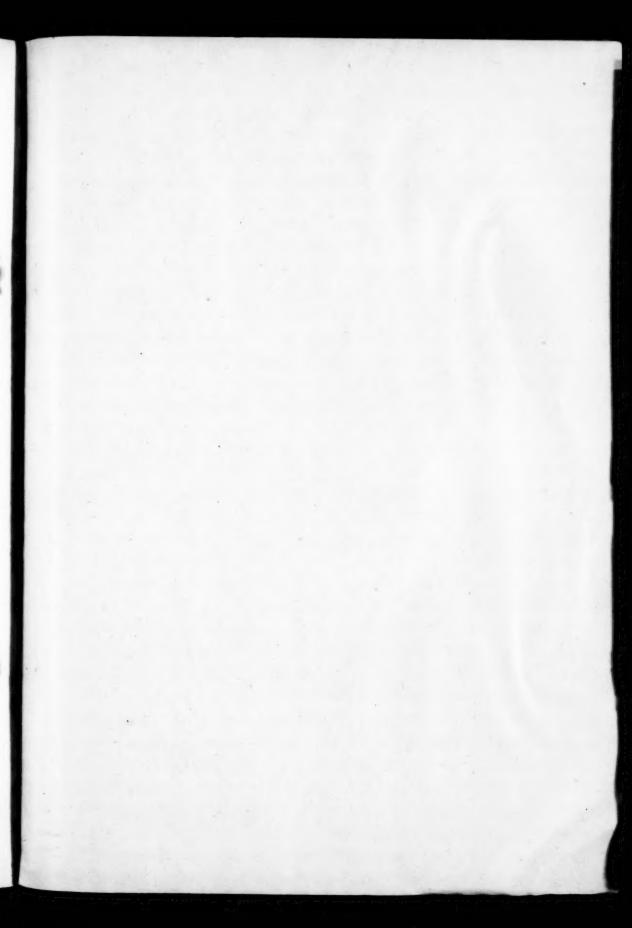


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